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the progress

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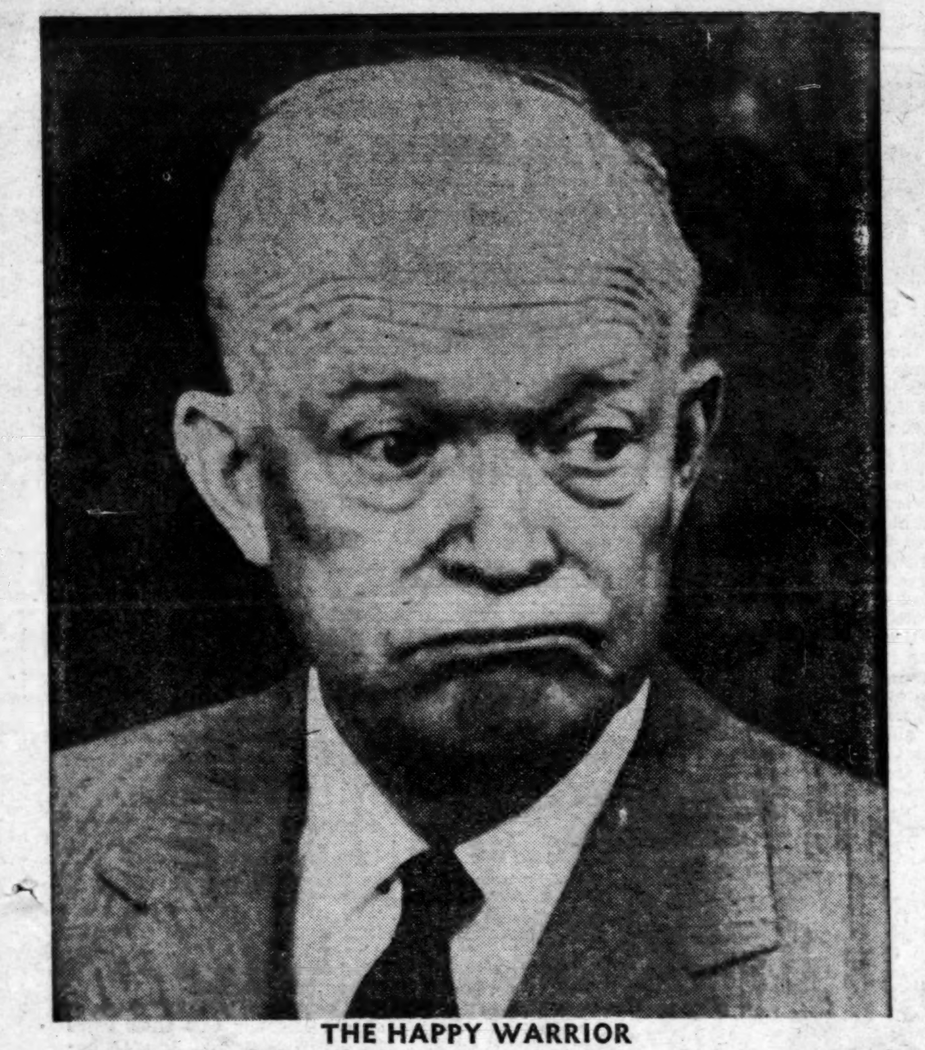


THE HAPPY WARRIOR

President Eisenhower at a press conference during which he announced that he was extending his campaign travels—but not, he said, to as many places as his supporters wanted him to go.

UNITED NATIONS

Egypt proposes new negotiations for an open Suez

By Kumar Goshal

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.

THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL'S second sitting on Oct. 5 was attended by the foreign ministers of no less than six countries (Britain, France, Egypt, the U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, Belgium) as well as by U.S. Secy. of State Dulles. Such an unprecedented appearance of top diplomats and the first appearance of Soviet Foreign Minister Shepilov at the UN and in the U.S. drew an overflow crowd of distinguished visitors, members of other UN delegations and American and foreign correspondents. These had to be accommodated in another council chamber, where they viewed the proceedings televised on a large screen.

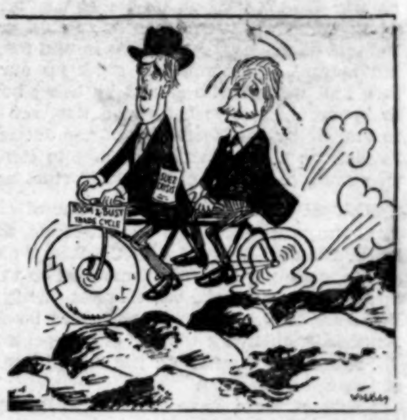
A tense atmosphere enveloped the meeting which was preceded by stories of discord between Washington and its W. European partners; feelers sent out by interested parties hoping to profit by this discord; and speculations based on the usual "authoritative sources" of backstage negotiations.

A QUESTION OF TENSE: It was known, for example, that Britain and France bitterly resented Dulles' remarks at his Oct. 2 press conference on the Suez issue. Dulles was reported to have conceded that "there is some difference" among the Big Three "in the approaches to the Suez Canal problem" and to the 'so-called problems of colonialism," in which "the U.S. plays a somewhat independent role." In the later official transcript, Dulles placed the "differences" in the past tense. But the fat was in the fire.

The conservative London **Times** accused Dulles of "grave disservice to Anglo-American unity." The pro-U.S. Paris newspaper **Le Figaro** said: "If the Suez crisis has taken a bad turn, it is because the support of our American friends has been completely denied us from the beginning." French resentment was the more bitter because only two days before Dulles' statement Premier Guy Mollet had emphatically assured the public: "The responsible men of the U.S. are profoundly in accord with us. I say this in weighing my words."

IRANIAN PATTERN?: Two days before the Security Council meeting it was reported (**N.Y. Times,** 10/3) that U.S. oil

(Continued on Page 9)



Vicky in Daily Mirror, London

"Under Conservative Administration we have broken away at long last from the regular cycle of crises . . ."

HARMONY OR DISSENT?

American Left is split: moderates vs. militants

THE U.S. LEFT looked like a free-for-all last week. Liberals were scrapping with liberals and communists with communists. The question was: How left should a left-wing be? In both camps there were those who felt that modern rebels should find a pitch that would harmonize with "moderate" America; and others who said the cry of dissent must be heard in or out of harmony.

William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party, cast the one dissenting vote of his party's 13-man national committee on a draft resolution to be presented to a convention in February. (Benjamin J. Davis Jr. said he would qualify his support for the resolution but has not yet published his reservations.) Foster explained his vote in a bitter 14,000 word attack on the resolution to be published in full in the October issue of **Political Affairs**, the CP's theoretical monthly.

A BACKWARD LOOK: Foster saw in the resolution a "strong right tendency" and "a new Browderism" under whose auspices the CP would cease "to be specifically a Marxist-Leninist Party." He singled out as leaders of the tendency **Daily Worker** editor John Gates who, Foster said, had opened a "factional attack"; foreign editor Joseph Clark and Clark's predecessor on the paper, "ex-Comrade" Joseph Starobin, who recently announced his withdrawal from the CP.

Foster charged that the resolution understated the war danger and "aggressive role of American imperialism"; that it favored the modification of Marx and Lenin on the nature of imperialism and added up to the eventual "elimination of Marxism-Leninism."

He said the resolution looked back nostalgically to the 1930's when the CP attained its maximum influence but disregarded the fact that the Party then "was going along freely in harmony with the general mood of the working class and under a not hostile government." He contrasted that period with the "harsh persecutions suffered by the Party during the cold war years and its considerable conflict with the general mood of the working class regarding the origin of the war threat."

"SEWER LIBERALS": To harmonize with the prevailing mood or to dissent at the risk of remaining conspicuously exposed in a minority position was a question that troubled non-communists on the left as well. The October issue of the **Progressive** magazine published a symposium in which Chicago trade union leader Sid Lens, for the dissenters, argued with Gus Tyler, political education director of the Intl. Ladies Garment Workers Union, and Sen. Richard L. Neuberger (D-Ore.).

Lens recalled the term, "sewer socialists," applied to socialists who became so preoccupied with winning such im-

(Continued on Page 6)

Inside This Issue

THE READERS SPEAK
On the elections pp. 2 & 12
NEGROES' DILEMMA
On election eve . . . . . . p. 10
REVIVAL IN BRITAIN
Labour conference . . . p. 4
RUMANIA: SLOW THAW
By Ursula Wassermann p. 8
S. AFRICA EXPLOSION?
The tension mounts . . . p. 7

BATTLE OF THE COAT-TAILS

Campaign apathy spread by lack of differences

By Elmer Bendiner

ONE MONTH BEFORE Election Day both major party candidates for the Presidency realized that the only way to command the nation's interest was to go to a world series game. They could share popular excitement even if they seemed unable to spark it.

The President drew 40,000 people to Cleveland's Public Square, but then found it hard to do much with them. **N. Y. Times** correspondent Russell Baker reported (10/2):

"The President spoke for five minutes without . single burst of applause from the crowd before the Republican Party leaders on the platform behind him began interjecting their own. Even then, however, the crowd never caught fire. Except in a few instances, the audience remained placid."

Stevenson drew only 5,000 in Harlem and 10,000 in New York's East Side, but they were enthusiastic partisans rather than curiosity seekers. In Harlem Stevenson repeated what he had said in Arkansas—that he was for the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions but would adhere strictly to his party's platform in opposing the "use of force." Before his audience on Delancey St. Stevenson assailed the Eisenhower administration because it "encouraged Arab aggression and gave the opportunity to the Kremlin to intrude into the Middle East."

WHY THE APATHY: The Republicans saw every bet the Democratic made and occasionally raised them. After Stevenson's endorsement of the Supreme Court decision Nixon disclosed that he held honorary membership in the NAACP.

(Continued on Page 9)

Renew now with a pledge for '57

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R J

The GUARDIAN needs your sub renewal with extra help if you can offer it. Your pledge NOW of $1 a month throughout 1957 automatically renews your sub and assures needed help over the rough spots. Pitch in the easy way!

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REPORT TO READERS

8 Octobers later

LONDON

IN THE GUARDIAN OFFICE, where morbidity was never encouraged, "everyone" thinks I should write something "to commemorate my one year away." So it was reported to me in August; but alas, my poor anniversarymanship is notorious, and I've already torn off September and thrown it away. But October brings an anniversary that is truly worth commemorating—that of the GUARDIAN itself, now eight years old and still going strong.

If a year of exile does seem long in terms of separation from friends and co-workers, it would be more than indecent to ask for sympathy from people who are denied the right to leave America by the same Brownell gang that denied me the right to live there. For me the un-Americans have reopened the door to the rest of this exciting world, so that I might rediscover what a lot of it there is that is not bounded by the choice between Ike and Adlai.

But if exile is to be the theme, there is something worth saying as the GUARDIAN lights its eighth birthday candle. There are many exiles who would like to remind our indomitable family, the fighters of so many good fights in and for America, that the Walter-McCarran Act continues to stink up our statute books. Under it, men and women who sinned by being born in the wrong latitudes, or by marrying somebody who was, are still being slowly reduced to despair by the houndings of the Justice Dept.—and finally scattered from their American homes to strange and far places where they must pick up the pieces and start again.

I MET SUCH EXILES in every one of the countries I have visited in the past year—in Britain, France, Switzerland, Bulgaria, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, the U.S.S.R., Poland and Germany. These people make miracles of adjustment to their new surroundings, and don't complain much, but there is plenty of heartache. I don't believe one of them would not rather be fighting the good fight in America than living where he is unpersecuted.

People are funny. Of the many dreams they have, the American one dies hardest.

Few of them have the compensation that is mine, of regular contact with America through their work; and the first question they ask is: What are our people doing about Walter-McCarran? Who is doing what about the Smith Act? They hear that the hysteria is dying down, and some gleanings about the great election battle in progress, so reported as to show the bafflement of the newspapers they now read. These papers do not report that anyone is even mentioning the laws that codify the nightmare.

After a few years, the exiles' faith that they will be able to return weakens, if it never quite dies. But it would ease the heartache to know that the nightmare was ending for others, and that perhaps their American-born children might see their land again and live there in freedom.

TO THESE EXILES the best present in my power to give is a copy of the GUARDIAN. To know it is still there, knitting together the forces of the courageously sane back home, keeping America's eye on the ball, is to feel their hopes renewed for that time when the tide shall begin to turn decisively. And to see them devour our little paper is to be made more deeply conscious of the obligation which the course of events has thrown in the laps of the GUARDIAN family.

From an exile's-eye view it looks good to see the GUARDIAN forging into its ninth year; not so good to see it doing so with the prospect of monthly financial headaches as in so many of our past years.

If you who are not now "boosters" would join those who are, and thus add YOUR level best to underwrite the GUARDIAN's ninth year—that, my masters, would have exiles turning handsprings wherever the Brownell gang has dumped them.

The starred-and-striped ashcan is still waiting to receive Walter-McCarran and the rest of the un-American legislative mess. A buck-a-month pledge from you to the GUARDIAN, now that a new year's ahead, is the best way to put the mess where it belongs and seal down the lid.

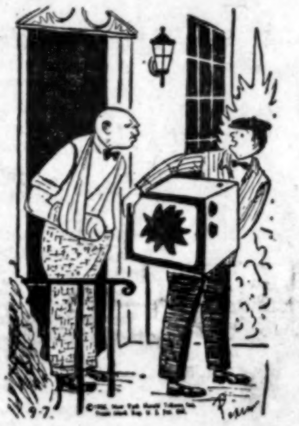
And if you should be so minded as to call it a commemoration of my one year away, I don't think any of the exiles would accuse you of being morbid. (See coupon above.) **—Cedric Belfrage**

THE MAIL BAG

N.D. for S.&K.

ST. PAUL, MINN.

I know that the GUARDIAN is short of funds and cannot send out reporters to cover many rural political rallies. But I hope that some way can be found to let your readers know what farmers are doing and saying at grassroot meetings up in North Dakota where I come from. They are fighting mad at the way they have been treated under the Eisenhower Administration. There is no apathy around here—no fence-sitting—and many a farmer who never voted for FDR is loudly declaring that he will vote Democrat for the first time this year. If some of the progressives could circulate around the farm belt for a while, there might be less confusion about electoral tactics and strategy. I don't think a sensible and gifted man like Vince Hallinan would make a speech out here and urge farmers to support Farrell Dobbs in '56. **Herb Swanson**



N. Y. Herald Tribune

"I don't discuss politics, sir. Your set will be back as soon as possible."

Debs' Dictum

SEATTLE, WASH

A long while ago, Eugene Debs said: "I'd rather vote for what I want and not get it than vote for what I don't want and get that." Doesn't that cover it for a left-wing person today? **R. Casey**

Volunteers for USA

SAUGUS, MASS.

I invite all those interested in following up Melvin Bloom's idea of a United Socialist Alliance (USA) to write to me. I will volunteer to help organize it. It should include the SUA (Socialist Union of America), IPP, and all other good leftist people, of every sort.

A group of socialists in Boston will work with me. If there are enough responses, we will go to work.

Rev. Hugh Weston
31 Main St.

Swat that Nixon

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Civil liberties is the issue of this election—not because the Democrats have made it so, but because the Republicans have done so by their nomination of Nixon. Nixon today is Mr. "Anti-Civil Liberties." Ask people what he ever did and they will tell you that he put Hiss in jail. The Beat-Nixon campaign is not like swatting flies. Rather it represents an opportunity to strike a blow for civil liberties, even though in a negative way.

The very failure of the two major parties to wage a campaign stressing clear-cut issues makes it all the more necessary for people to express their feelings by whatever means are available. Surely the removal of McCarthy from his pedestal was not like swatting flies, and it was accomplished because people expressed themselves by whatever means were available. It represented an important forward step.

In 1952 Eisenhower made "peace in Korea" the main issue. If I had not voted for Hallinan, my vote would have gone to Eisenhower as a means of endorsing his stand on that issue. Today it is widely acknowledged that this peace issue was a key factor in Eisenhower's victory, and led to an easing of the Cold War.

Considering Mrs. Roosevelt's stand for amnesty for the Smith Act victims, the fact that the Stevenson forces have seen fit to have her introduce their Presidential candidate on a nationwide TV program is news, and of some importance.

The important thing is that the defeat of the Eisenhower-Nixon team would be a defeat for Nixon and all that he represents. This would be generally acknowledged. And such a result would strike an important blow for civil liberties. **F.L.H.**

Ike at the Dike

INK, ARK.

You may state with calm conviction
That you're not too fond of Nixon;
You may snipe away at Dulles if you like;
Ezra Benson's clay pigeon,
But it's now against religion
If you breathe a word that's critical of Ike.

Nothing's his fault if he did it.
Mention health? May God forbid it!
He's the Dutch boy with his finger in the dike.
I admit I'm slightly puzzled:
When and how did we get muzzled?
But, O, leave us not be critical of Ike!

D.G.

Bowles for Dulles?

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Not only the offices of President and Vice President are involved in this election. If the Democrats are returned there will be a new Cabinet. It has been said that Chester Bowles will replace Dulles and that among the other members will be men like Senator Morse. Who can deny that these changes would be welcome to forward-looking Americans?

Here is another more important point. Speaking in North Dakota recently, Senator Kefauver pointed out (N.Y. **Times** 9/25) that Vice President Nixon is the man "we must never forget . . . He—and not Eisenhower—is the man of the future in the Republican Party. Remember that Eisenhower cannot, under the Constitution, run for re-election if he should be re-elected. It is Nixon who will therefore be the real power in a new Eisenhower - Nixon Administration. It is Nixon with whom the Republican politicians will mend their fences and make their alliances. It will be Nixon who will call the signals and run the country. I cannot believe the people of North Dakota are willing to entrust their future to his hands." **Name withheld**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

COLUMBUS, O., Oct.3 (AP)—Speaking of unusual ads, this one appeared in today's edition of a local newspaper:

WANTED

Single man not over 25 to drive in head-on collision at Powell Speedway, Saturday, Oct. 6. We already have one man. Both cars must be speeding at 45 miles an hour at point of crash — a 90-mile-an-hour impact — and drivers must give an unconditional release in case of injury or death. Give price you want and all details.

N.Y. Post, Oct. 3

One year free sub to sender of each item under this heading. Winner this week: I. G., Bronx, N.Y. Be sure to enclose original clipping and date of each entry.

Urges SLP votes

GREEN CREEK, N.J.

Former Progressive Party supporters seem to be rather perplexed as to the course of action they should follow in this election in which they have neither a candidate or party. The solution to me seems quite simple. Those who believe in reformism or a modified form of capitalism should logically cast their votes for Stevenson and the Democratic Party, while those who believe in Marxian socialism (like myself) have no other recourse than to vote for Eric Haas and Georgia Cozzini, candidates of the Socialist Labor Party.

The SLP in 1952 polled more votes than both the Socialist and Socialist Workers parties together and this year will appear on the ballots of more states than either party. If, therefore, it is important to keep socialism alive as a political force in America, socialists should concentrate their efforts in building the strongest among the contending parties, rather than dissipate their forces by voting for Dobbs or Hoopes in a handful of states or by write-ins—which likely will not be counted anyway. **Harold Flincker**

Liked Gordon report

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Eugene Gordon's report on Negro Voters and Civil Rights in 1956 (GUARDIAN 9/24) was quite informative and I liked it. **James W. Ford**

More letters on the election will be found on page 12

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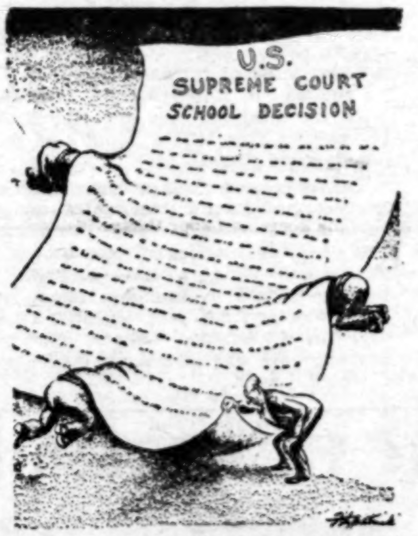
IN THE WAKE OF THE WITCH-HUNT

Supreme Court flooded by civil liberties cases

AS THE SUPREME COURT opened its current nine-month term, its docket was crowded with civil rights and civil liberties cases, with most of the excesses of the post-World War II witch-hunt up for review. In addition to several appeals from its historic order to end segregation in the public schools, the Court is committed to a second look at the Smith Act which it upheld in 1951 in a 6-to-2 decision with five separate opinions written. There have been some 160 indictments under the Smith Act since 1948 with 106 convictions in 17 prosecutions.

Arguments on behalf of 14 California Smith Act victims, five in the Pittsburgh case, and two others convicted under the law's clause forbidding membership in the Communist Party were scheduled for hearings this month. Lower court reviews of Smith Act convictions are pending in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Michigan, New York, Missouri, Illinois, Washington, Colorado, Montana and Ohio.

THE PITTSBURGH CASE: On the eve of the high court's consideration of the Smith Act, the government made several moves to forestall a show-down decision.



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

The great game of how-not-to.

In the Pittsburgh case it asked that the action be remanded to a lower court to examine the credibility of one of the government's own witnesses, Joseph D. Mazzei. Mazzei by his own admission has been an FBI informant since 1942 and testified in the Pittsburgh case in 1953. Solicitor General J. Lee Rankin argued that the government believes Mazzei told the truth at the Pittsburgh trial, but that he has been so untruthful at other times that his reliability is open to question.

Attorneys for the Pittsburgh defendants argued against the government's move to remand the case and asked that it order a new trial unless it went ahead with a review of the case on its merits. The Supreme Court decided that it would hear defense argument on the case at the same time that the government argues its motion to send it back to a lower court.

APPEALS ACCEPTED: On the opening day the Court agreed to hear appeals from:

- John T. Watkins, United Auto Workers organizer, who told the House Committee on Un-American Activities that he had been a Communist but refused to give names of other Communists. He faces one year in jail and a $500 fine.
- Paul M. Sweezy, economist and co-editor of the **Monthly Review**, challenging New Hampshire's "subversive control" law.
- Ben Gold, former president of the Intl. Fur and Leather Workers, who was convicted of filing a false non-communist affidavit in compliance with Taft-Hartley, though he had publicly announced his resignation from the CP before filing.
- Those charged with aiding Robert G. Thompson while he was a fugitive under a Smith Act indictment.
- Rudolph Schware, who was refused the right to take the bar examination in New Mexico because of alleged Communist affiliations.

Among those the Court refused to hear on appeal were:

- Maurice Braverman, Baltimore lawyer who served a prison sentence under the Smith Act and is now fighting against disbarment for his political views.
- Six ex-GI's who refused to answer political questions on personnel forms in a test of the Army's loyalty probes.

In connection with the CP case against the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950, the Supreme Court is now asked to rule on the Communist Control Act which was enacted by Congress in a surge of anti-communist hysteria and signed into law by President Eisenhower in 1954. The Communist Control Act declares the Communist Party to have no legal standing. CP lawyers now argue that this law nullifies the Internal Security Act because an organization outlawed under one act can't be required to register under another act.

THE JENCKS CASE: Also being pressed for review in this session of the Supreme Court is the case of Clinton Jencks, a former official of the independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, who was convicted on a charge of falsely signing a Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit. The main witness against him was Harvey Matusow, who later signed an affidavit repudiating his testimony. Other cases include:

- Actor-singer Paul Robeson's demand for a passport.
- The constitutionality of a provision in the Internal Security Act which permits the deportation of foreign-born Americans for membership in the CP.
- The case of West Coast attorney George Shibley who faces a three-year prison term for successfully defending an enlisted Marine.

Powells get an OK for quiz in China

FEDERAL DISTRICT JUDGE Louis E. Goodman in San Francisco last week ruled that the U. S. government must pay expenses to send two lawyers to China to take depositions from witnesses in the "sedition" case of John and Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman.

The Powells and Schuman face prosecution for their writings in the China **Monthly Review.** The government has charged them with spreading false stories in a plot to subvert the U. S. armed forces. The case involves the entire conduct of the Korean fighting. The government has specifically called false and damaging the **Review's** stories concerning charges of bacteriological warfare, by the U. S. forces.

Defense attorneys in a pre-trial motion asked that the government pay—since the defendants could not—for gathering depositions that might indicate the truth of the **Review's** reporting. In his ruling Judge Goodman gave the defense 45 days to submit a list of available witnesses in China. The defense indicated last week that by cable communication with Peking 15 willing witnesses had already been located.

A MAN WHO WILL NOT SUBMIT

Ed Fitzgerald gives his credo

On Oct. 8 the U. S. Supreme Court refused to review the case of Edward J. Fitzgerald, writer and former New Deal functionary in Washington. Fitzgerald was convicted on a charge of contempt and sentenced to six months for refusing to answer questions about himself and his beliefs and about his associates, even though ordered to do so under the so-called Immunity Act. In a special statement to the GUARDIAN, below, Fitzgerald tells why he took his position.

By Edward J. Fitzgerald

IN THE UNITED STATES of America how does it happen that I who have never committed a crime, never been indicted, tried or convicted for or even charged with any criminal action, am facing six months in jail?

For ten years I have been subjected to political calumny, vilification, and economic harassment. For political purposes I have been branded by government officials as a spy. No evidence has ever been presented to a jury which supported this accusation. No jury has ever returned an indictment based upon these false charges. I have been pilloried by government officials contemptuous of due process.

I am not and have never been a spy. I am willing to swear so. To my knowledge no friend or associate of mine was ever a spy. I am willing to swear so.

Why, then, have I refused to answer questions about espionage, about my political beliefs, about my associates? Because, from the outset it has been clear that the real purpose of my inquisitors has not been—except for headline hunting—to investigate espionage. They wanted to destroy for me and others the rights guaranteed under the First Amendment: freedom of belief, freedom of expression, freedom of association, and the right to political dissent.

I REALIZED THIS the first time the FBI grilled me. One night, ten years ago, when returning home from work in the Commerce Department in Washington, I was seized like a criminal, hustled off in a car to FBI headquarters, and there questioned for hours. About what? About my political attitudes. About my associates, social and professional, and about their beliefs. Practically every question was directed to throwing a sinister light over the fact that I knew or was associated with New Deal figures and persons connected with the labor movement. It was almost entirely a political inquisition, with a few veiled suggestions about subversive activity and espionage, which I denied as nonsensical.

Although I was not certain of my legal protections, I was not willing to cooperate in this campaign to destroy our right to freedom of political belief, expression and association. I could not cooperate in what was even then evident as a campaign to recruit stool pigeons who would finger as subversive New Dealers who had been promoting a better social order. I used the Fifth Amendment.

In the ten years since, the conduct of the national witch-hunt has confirmed my early conclusions. Repeatedly I and others have been hauled before grand juries, and congressional investigating committees, vilified in the newspapers and driven from one job after another. In this campaign the Government has repeatedly demonstrated that—while allegedly investigating espionage—it was eager only to persecute New Dealers and to discredit their progressive beliefs by putting them in jail on trumped-up charges of perjury or contempt of court. It was willing to use perjured or forced testimony to do so. Our protection was the Fifth Amendment, and the Fifth Amendment must stand as our guarantee against inquisitorial suppression of our right to political dissent.

EDWARD J. FITZGERALD

No crime—no compulsion

BUT THE FIFTH Amendment hampers the drive to discredit the New Deal by vilifying the New Dealers. Therefore it must be destroyed. This is why the Compulsory Testimony Act was passed in 1954. Under it, any witness in a case said to involve national security can be compelled to answer any and all questions which the inquisitor can frame to discredit the witness' position. The penalty for refusing to answer is conviction for contempt of court. The real intent of the law is to threaten the witness with the possibility of conviction for contempt of court or to force him to become a political stool-pigeon who will say under government orders that anyone who disagrees with current Government policies is a subversive.

When, in 1954, I was taken before a grand jury in Camden, N.J., this purpose of the law was made explicitly clear. It was suggested that if I would testify to the satisfaction of the Government I could "reinstate" myself in society. Hadn't I lost jobs and suffered otherwise? Hadn't I been under the influence of Jewish advisers? Why shouldn't I, a good Irish-American, break with these people and rejoin the proper fold? Besides, I could get off scot-free from punishment for crimes for which I had never been charged.

Then and later I said that I sought no immunity for any act of mine. If there were any crime I would like to be tried for it. But I would never—even with the promise of relief from the political, social and economic harassment to which I had been subjected for ten years—become a perjurious stool-pigeon.

NOTHING HAS HAPPENED since then to change my belief that any answers I might give under the compulsion of the Compulsory Testimony Act might not be used by the government to frame me or others on perjury or other charges. The recurrent proceedings against actors, teachers, librarians, trade union members, scientists, and government workers—none of whom have been accused of anything more than holding beliefs unpopular with the current government — have made it abundantly clear that we need the Fifth Amendment to protect our own freedoms and the freedoms of our fellowmen.

This is why I will continue to fight against the Compulsory Testimony Law.

I repeat: I am not and have never been a spy. I am willing to swear so. I have never known anyone else who was a spy. I am willing to swear so.

But I will not, under any grant of immunity from punishment for crimes I did not commit, submit to any inquisition about my beliefs, or about my associates or their beliefs.

THE MEANING OF BLACKPOOL

The British Labour Party turns left

By Cedric Belfrage

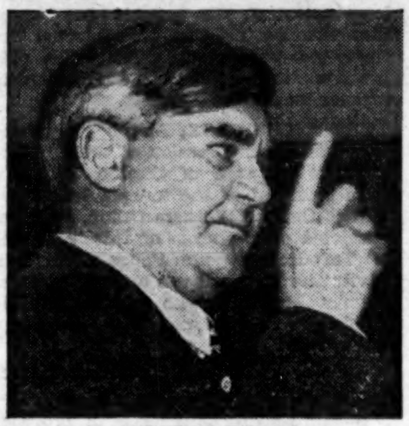
BLACKPOOL, ENGLAND

THE SPECTACLE of a socialist party in plainly observable forward motion is a most inspiring one for those who have spent years in loyal and patient effort to goad it on to its feet. A newcomer to British Labour Party conferences is apt to be depressed by the slowness of the animal's gait, in terms of the cautiousness and superficiality of speeches and personalities signaling the advance; and to wonder whether such a pachyderm can be expected to keep up with the pace of today's events. But to appraise these annual talk-fests intelligently one needs an experienced guide just as one would, for example, on a first visit to Nepal or Alabama. If you think so-and-so produced a flatulent effect this year—well, you should have heard him last year and the year before.

The most important thing that has happened in the British labor movement, so far as the world is concerned, is of course that—first at September's Trades Union Congress, and now here at the political conference—it has put a decisive brake on the Tories' headlong rush toward war over Suez.

RADICAL CHANGE AHEAD: Outside of that, one can surely say that the destiny of the British Isles and what remains of the empire has been at stake in the discussions here, while questioning how much they affect the eventual destiny of world socialism or of humanity. This is not, however, to question the importance of the destiny of the British Isles, now facing a crisis which will respond only to radical treatment.

That this conference has laid some foundations for radical change in the party which soon will be governing again is beyond doubt. The party's progressive forces, which are large but have for years been stifled by the right-wing machine, are deeply elated by the election of Aneurin Bevan to the key post of treasurer. Especially as the man he defeated was George Brown, the well-known clown who broke up the party dinner to Bulganin and Khrushchev by insulting the guests, and who—judging from his speech on "how to arm" in the disarmament debate here—now aspires to the job of Labour Defense Minister.



ANEURIN BEVAN
Some changes were made

SWING TO LEFT: Some of the most indestructible of Labour's right-wingers are physically dead, and others, like Herbert Morrison, are politically so. Figures in the party Executive elections confirmed the decided swing to the left. All the left-wingers were returned with thumping polls, and Tom Driberg, a journalist of intelligence and principle, was elected vice-chairman (to be, presumably, the 1957-58 chairman).

Testifying to the slowness of changes in the Labour Party, all attempts to democratize its constitution (amending resolutions are permitted only once in three years) were defeated, and nothing that was not foregone happened as a result of debate. The resolution moved by the party's best-informed foreign affairs man, Konni Zilliacus, MP, to stop the nonsense of refusing to talk turkey with the Russians because they are Communists, was lost virtually without debate. A call to the government to abolish conscription, with a Labour pledge to abolish it immediately, on winning power, was defeated by over 3 to 1 although 33 constituency parties had put down resolutions to end it.

The nearest any non-executive-backed resolution came to victory over the big-union block vote was one sponsored by playwright Benn W. Levy to safeguard freedom of thought, speech and association against secret police powers. (The witch-hunt is still in an embryonic stage here, but not too much so for labor to show its determination to have "no more droppings of McCarthyism in this country", as one delegate put it.)

A REAL LOOK: On the other hand, executive-backed resolutions struck a refreshing note after recent years: none was positively reactionary and all said something more than that the party was against sin. The supporting speeches of leader Gaitskell, and even on colonies of deputy leader Jim Griffiths (who as Colonial Minister used to be photographed on "bandit" hunts in Malaya), showed how conscious everyone is of the way the tide is running. These resolutions included a call for reduction of arms spending and armed services (no one any longer denies that without big cuts Britain's problems are insoluble); for a new attempt to unify Germany in co-operation with the U.S., France and the U.S.S.R.; for stopping nuclear tests; to "actively oppose" all forms of racism; for self-determination of Cyprus and for a commission to study and publicize brutalities in Kenya.

Most encouraging was the amount of time devoted to colonial problems, the leadership showing more understanding than heretofore of Britain's responsibilities and guilt in human terms. There was even what one might call "courteous self-criticism"—much better than no self-criticism at all—of Labour's own part in creating the mess when it was in power. The debate hinged around "Labour's Colonial Policy", one of four policy booklets recently produced as themes for this conference (the others: "Homes of the Future", "Personal Freedom", "Towards Equality").

These policy statements, good as far as they go, err well on the side of caution for a party whose delegates call each other "Comrade" and never cease to avow their socialist faith. On the big "militants' night" which is a feature of these conferences—the always-jammed public meeting sponsored by the Bevanite weekly **Tribune**—some characters were distributing copies of a mimeographed **Socialist Current** dismissing all this and Bevan too as not "offering a real socialist alternative."

It would, indeed, be true to say that the policy statements are devoted in the main to ways of making capitalism fair and honest, which is absurd. (One delegate though—Scottish MP Jennie Lee—did point out to the conference with regard to the colonial empire that "our job as socialists is not to have one.")

Nevertheless it is also true that, granting the inheritance of Britain's present mess from a past which cannot be undone, the problems which even the most genuine socialist government would now face are enormously complicated, and there is no simple formula for getting out of it. And the speeches by Gaitskell and other leaders were far from indicating complacency about the job that lies ahead of them. The impression given by Bevan, who knows what today's world is all about, is that he takes very seriously indeed the responsibility he has undertaken to work in the team with Gaitskell & Co., and will play ball as long as they continue to move even slowly with the rank-and-file tide.

It's official

TAIPEI, Formosa, Oct. 2 (Reuters) —The government of Nationalist China has decided to give its soldiers titles to plots of land on the Chinese mainland—after they have reconquered it from the Communists—it was officially announced today.

Boston Globe, Oct. 2, 1956

THE HOPELESS TORIES: What is getting to be understood is that all Britain's problems are intricately bound up one with another, and that whether the Gaitskells like it or not, a whole class structure which is out of date has to be broken down if catastrophe is to be avoided. The unwillingness to break it down is the reason why the Tories cannot govern and cannot make peace.

In the colonial dilemma, for example, Labour has only begun its task by going on record against race discrimination and for equal voting and other rights for the tangled web of populations in the colonies. The whole class and racist structure built up by generations of Tories is still there to thwart any efforts to make these dreams come true. It could only be done by a clean sweep of the top echelons of the colonial services, still dominated by the "pukka" families with their special class interest.

THE COLOR OF BLOOD: This brings the colonial problem squarely back to the playing-fields of Eton and Britain's still caste-ridden educational system. In "Towards Equality" Labour commits itself to drastic reform of this system but does not yet outline specific plans. (At present the waiting lists for Eton, where it costs £2,000 to educate a boy, are full all the way to 1970. To get a child entered you must not only have the £2,000 but call up Eton within minutes of your blue-blooded son's birth.)

The 1956 conference reveals a Labour Party with at least the basis of a foreign, colonial and economic policy. The awareness of the high and unavoidable hurdles ahead, and of the socialist strength of purpose needed to surmount them, has begun to seep from the progressive ranks into the leadership. Labour may yet prove to have what it takes to get Britain out of the mess.

Bravo!

WHEN Liberace (oh, of course you know who he is) arrived in Paris on his European tour, he was greeted by a wasp which stung him on the finger—a rather incisive comment on Liberace's talent, we think. Above a doctor treats the pinkie. In London, Liberace appeared in white mink coat which he shed to reveal a full dress suit of shimmering silver. Outside the nightclub in which he appeared a picket carried this sign: "Britain Will Rise Again." Well, we hope so, but Liberace's lethal effect is well known.

Henry Pratt Fairchild

DR. HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD, long associated with progressive causes, died on Oct. 2 in the home of a daughter, Mrs. Robert Cadwallader, in North Hollywood, Calif. He was 76 years old and held the title of Professor Emeritus of Sociology at New York University.

His professional specialty was problems of immigration and population and he was the author of numerous books on these subjects. But his interests ranged widely and one of his most popular books was **Economics for the Millions**, published in 1940, which was a strong argument in favor of socialism in the U.S. He also lectured on such topics as birth control.

Born in Dundee, Ill., he studied at Doane College in Nebraska and earned his Ph.D. at Yale in 1909. Although he championed unpopular causes, his scholarship was widely respected and he was a lecturer for more than ten years at the Army War College in Washington.

A FULL LIFE: In 1900 he became an instructor at the International College in Turkey, later taught at Bowdoin College and at Yale. After World War I, when he served with the War Camp Community Service, he joined the NYU faculty and headed the Sociology Dept. from 1938 to 1945 when he retired as Professor Emeritus.

He was an ardent New Dealer and actively supported Franklin D. Roosevelt through all his campaigns. He was an early and powerful advocate of U.S. friendship with the Soviet Union and held the post of national secretary of the Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship. He also served as secretary of the Natl. Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.

HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD
In his prime

He was a leading figure in the successful campaign to free Earl Browder, then head of the Communist Party, from a jail sentence at the beginning of World War II. He played an active role in the defense of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. In addition to these activities, he held top posts in professional societies in his field and in 1923 served as a specalist in immigration in Europe for the Dept. of Labor.

WELCOME, BUT . . .

Textile wages up after union blast on industry crisis

IN THE SEPTEMBER issue of its official magazine, the Textile Workers Union of America published a bitter report on the condition of work and wages in the textile industry and warned: "The day of reckoning is sure to come . . . an explosion is inevitable." It described the industry, which employs a million workers, as a "crisis for America" (GUARDIAN, Oct. 8).

The attack was newsworthy enough to be brought up at a Presidential press conference on Sept. 27 and Gen. Eisenhower blithely responded that everything was all right because his Administration was doing something about Japanese textile imports and the depressed areas caused by abandonment of textile mills. To the accompaniment of this political overtone, the J.P. Stevens & Co., Inc., announced on Oct. 1 that it was voluntarily boosting wages 10c an hour for its 28,000 employes in 35 Southern plants (company president is Robert T. Stevens, who was Eisenhower's Secy. of the Army until the Army-McCarthy hearings returned him to private life).

"POLITICAL POPPYCOCK": Next day two other big textile firms, Burlington Industries Inc. (40,000 workers in 90 Southern plants) and the Deering Milliken & Co., Inc., announced that they were boosting wages too, although they didn't specify the amount. Other companies were expected to go along.

TWUA president William Pollock described the Eisenhower remarks as "pure political poppycock" and said "nothing the President said showed the slightest awareness of the facts."

He called the wage boosts "welcome news" but said they will have "no material effect on the basic problems that cause the industry to be a crisis for America." The crisis, he said, lies in the fact "that textile wages—imports or no imports—have fallen farther and farther behind, until they are now inadequate to provide a decent minimum standard of living; and that the greatest single reason for this decline is the ruthless and un-American suppression of union organization in the South."

Pollock called the 10c increase inadequate and said it leaves the average textile wage at $1.35 an hour, as compared to an average of more than $2 an hour in other basic manufacturing industries. He added that while it "will come nowhere near raising the per capita income of textile communities to the national average, we hope it will whet their appetite for more."

THE ANSWER—LIQUIDATION: While this was going on, Pollock had a concrete example of the anti-union pressures which keep most of the South's 600,000 textile workers unorganized. On Sept. 26 workers of the Darlington Mfg. Co. of Darlington, S.C., a unit of the Deering Milliken chain, voted 256 to 248 for representation by the TWUA. Next day the company announced its intention to liquidate the plant, even though it is in process of modernization and expansion. Pollock wrote to Secy. of Labor James P. Mitchell:

"To summarize, the story is this: Workers want union; workers vote for union; company closes plant. What do you, as labor's one, lonely friend in this Administration, have to say about the behavior of Deering Milliken in this case? What recourse can you recommend for us, and for the terrified workers, against this abuse of corporate power? Are you ready to denounce this employer and all others who adopt comparable tactics to defeat the self-organization of their workers into an honest, democratic and responsible union?"

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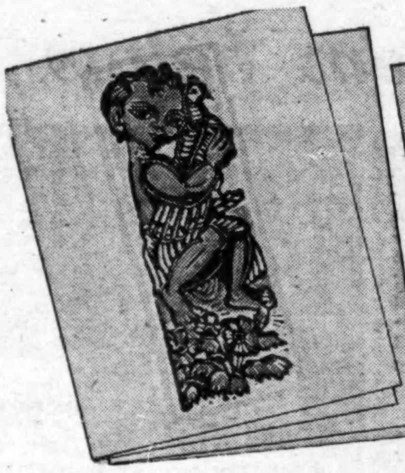
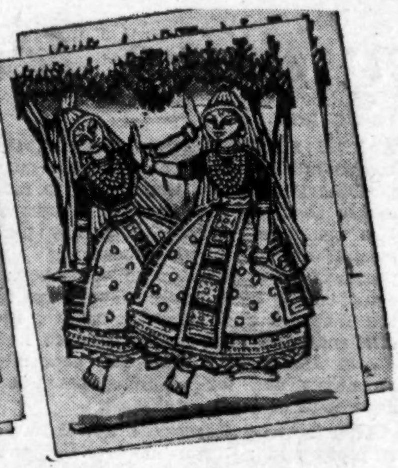
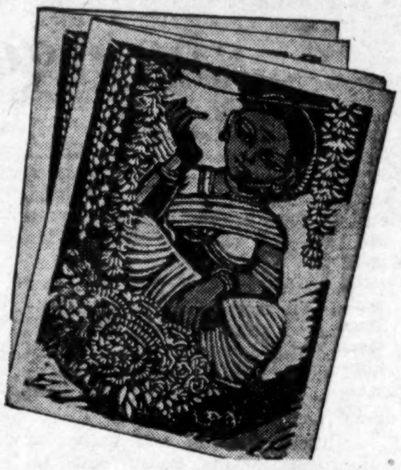
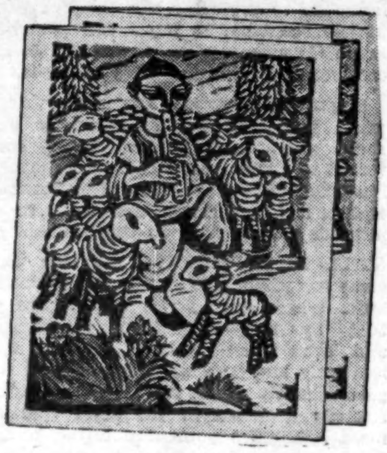
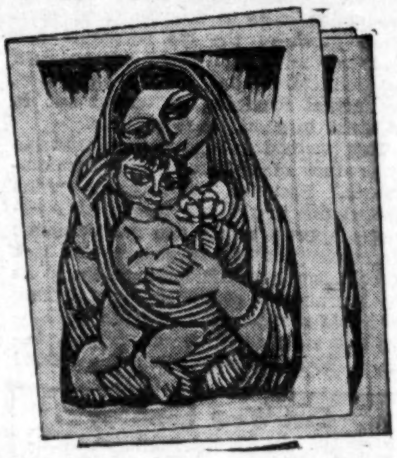






From the treasury of the world's great art





IN FULL SIZE — FULL COLOR LITHOGRAPHY

GUARDIAN FINE ART HOLIDAY CARDS

by CHITTAPROSAD OF INDIA

IT HAS BEEN our custom for the last six years to produce a set of holiday greeeting cards. Usually we commissioned a group of American artists for the designs, but this year we wanted a fresh approach—a set of fine art cards with a rich folk quality unmatched by commercial companies; a set that would distinguish Guardian cards from all others.

An admirable notion, you will agree, but one not easily realized. First we had to find the right artist and then reproduce his work faithfully by a printing process that was bound to be expensive.

Happy circumstance helped us leap the first hurdle. Last November at India House in New York we saw an exhibit of the work of an Indian artist, Chittaprosad of Bombay. We were immensely impressed by his use of rich folk themes refashioned by a new, revolutionary spirit. (Arrangements were made to offer a folio of his prints through our Buying Service. As a result several hundred Guardian families are already familiar with his work.)

Chittaprosad, we decided, was just the man to fashion our holiday cards. We contacted him in Bombay explaining we wanted a series of designs in full color. He accepted the assignment and began work in February. The designs arrived in New York in May. They were all and more than we hoped for—beautifully drawn and exquisitely colored.

Without the artist on hand to give the printer color separations and swatches we found we had the same problem as Museums when they make color prints from old masters. Following their lead we made our printing plates by the Knudsen Process, a lithographic process that makes color prints look just like the original. The result was a set of cards that are in color and design just as Chittaprosad drew them.

Now the cards can be yours. They are cards you will be proud to send and the recipients proud to display. Each is a lovely piece of fine art suitable for framing. They will give your holiday message a distinctive quality. There is a limited supply, so order now.

ORDER SEVERAL SETS AND SAVE!

1 set (10 cards)	$2.00
2 sets (20 cards)	$3.75
3 sets (30 cards)	$5.00
5 sets (50 cards)	$7.00

The cards are available only in sets of ten; 2 each of the 5 designs shown above. Each card is 5⅜x7. There is a limited supply, however, you may order now indicating when you want to receive the cards and we will set them aside until then.

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE
197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N. Y.

Enclosed $............ Please send me .... sets of Fine Art Holiday Cards.

Name ....

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THIS IS POLAND TODAY—II

A stronger voice from below

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

WARSAW

TO UNDERSTAND how democracy is developing under socialism in Poland, it must be seen against the background of the past—the Six Year Plan period (1949-55).

The boldness of this plan (a more than two-fold increase in industrialization) required tight centralized control throughout the economy. Centralization was further required to combat the capitalist influences which would have used resources for other purposes.

In addition, training and managing personnel were lacking. Polish industrial production today is four times pre-war. Since much of the old personnel had died in the war or could not be used for political reasons or had emigrated, the actual requirements turned out to be seven to eight times pre-war.

This method produced the inevitable by-product of a bureaucratic administration. Factories were given plans worked out to the last detail, with patriotic appeals substituted for economic incentives. Another byproduct was lack of criticism and blindness to facts. As the bureaucracy competed in furnishing favorable reports which hid the difficulties and complaints, the discrepancy between the real situation and the official reports grew.

East-West harmony

POLAND's first International Festival of Contemporary Music opened in Warsaw on Oct. 10 and will continue until Oct. 21. Modern or "cosmopolitan" works appear to be about as numerous on the programs as compositions in traditional styles.

Music by Bartok, Berg, Britten, Honegger, Milhaud, Schoenberg, Richard Straus, Stravinsky and Szymanowski, as well as Khachaturian, Prokofieff and Shostakovich, is being performed by orchestras and soloists from Paris, Vienna and the socialist countries. U.S. musicians were invited but at **GUARDIAN** press time it was not known whether any had been able to accept.

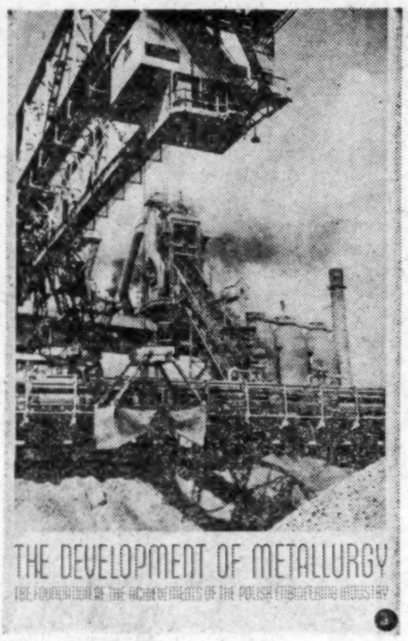
A NEW SITUATION: In the end, the compounded troubles burst into the open and the government was forced to recognize that the economy had outgrown this centralized control. The key personnel had acquired experience; the people at the center were no longer better equipped for management than those in the factories and localities. Waste, inefficiency and poor quality of work had shown the glaring need for economic incentives and for planning based on knowledge of local conditions.

After lengthy discussions at all levels of party and government (itself a new approach), a program is now being launched to overcome the disproportions in the economy. It takes two principal lines: (1) resources and their use; (2) incentives and administrative methods.

Regarding resources, the military program has been cut substantially and some arms factories are being converted to civilian production. In the new Five Year Plan, the rate of industrialization has been slowed drastically to an increase of only 50% in the five years.

STILL NOT ENOUGH: The new plan gives top priority to raising living standards. Wages are to rise an average of 30% by 1960—admittedly insufficient and, even when reached, leaving wages relatively low. The wage system and the government's plan for increases were strongly attacked in the Sejm (parliament). Deputies pointed out that under the complicated system of norms and bonuses, wage increases were sometimes rendered meaningless by simultaneous cuts in bonuses.

Greater assistance is planned for agriculture, but again the goals are limited by the nation's poverty in resources and equipment and by the slow pace in socializing the land. Although Poland makes its own combines, medium-sized tractors, threshing machines, and some other agricultural machinery, much of it is outdated and of poor quality. Large scale mechanization of agriculture is impossible with small holdings, and by 1960 it is estimated that only 30% of the peasants' land will be in cooperatives—that is, a total of 43% of the land will be socialized (13% is in state farms).



STORY OF PROGRESS
A page from the bimonthly publication "Polish Foreign Trade," put out by the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade in English, French, German, Russian and Spanish.

DRASTIC CHANGES: In administrative methods of operating the economy, economic incentives will be used rather than direction from the top. This involves a thorough managerial reorganization. It means getting rid of the bureaucracy and drastically reducing the number of administrative boards at all levels. It also means giving real authority in planning and decisions to local factories and enterprises and to the village agricultural commisions of the People's Councils.

A bill to give workers a direct voice in management, drawn up by the Executive Committee of the Trade Unions, is now being thrashed over in factories and in the press before it is introduced in parliament. One trade unionist called it "the most democratic bill ever to be introduced in any parliament in the world."

THE WORKERS' COUNCILS: Until now, trade unions here had authority only on working conditions. The proposal is to enlarge the role of the Workers Councils so that they may:

- Have more authority in carrying out labor laws and all union-management agreements; and in the granting of premiums, distribution of flats and social affairs.
- Have a voice in planning and the right to control the **general action** of management (but not individual actions), and to ask the recall of a director or manager if proof of incompetence is presented.

At the same time, new ways are being sought for workers to share financially when the plans are fulfilled.

Supporters of the proposal say it will help check the monolithic structure of the socialist state. Just as the increase in authority for individual factory managements now being effected puts a check on the central administration, so the increased authority of the Workers' Councils will act as a check on the factory management and indirectly on the central administration.

TWO MAIN LINES: Here's how the economic incentive works: If production is increased, the surplus of profits will be at the Councils' disposal. Some funds formerly distributed by the central ministries will hereafter be distributed by the Councils, and overall financial plans for each district will be worked out with these local authorities. Councils will have the right to decide where schools and hospitals will be built and will control the distribution of retail commodities.

Since the Councils formerly had few important functions, it is hard to get some of them going. But a big effort is being made to draw more people into their work. The Councils are chosen by direct elections at the local level, where people know each other. People are being urged to make greater use of the right of recall.

Democratizing and decentralizing economic management and increasing the authority of the People's Councils are considered to be the two principal lines of developing toward socialist democracy.

The American Left

(Continued from Page 1)

mediate benefits as better sewers that they forgot about socialism. The majority of present-day liberals, said Lens, are "sewer liberals," unwilling to "come to grips with anything more important than the symbolic sewer."

Lens referred to the 1930's when the **New Republic** called for a third party to bring "pressure from the left" on President Roosevelt; when Charles Beard denounced imperialism as a "capitalist racket" and urged fellow liberals "in time of peace to prepare for peace."

THE LIBERAL CONFORMER: Nowadays, said Lens, the **New Republic** gives "unqualified endorsement to the Presidential aspirations of another 'liberal' who is far less amenable to 'pressure from the left' than was Roosevelt, whose reactions to pressure, in fact, have been almost universally to the 'moderate' right."

Lens tagged the post-war liberals with responsibility for a bill to outlaw the CP, for support of Dulles' foreign policy with only slight amendments, for seeking only to sugarcoat but not to oppose arms budgets. He summed up:

"Instead of 'thunder from the left' the 'sewer liberal' today accommodates himself to the right . . . The liberal has become a conformer, an anti-dissenter . . . The tragedy of America is that it has no genuine left."

TIED TO THE MILITARY: Tyler, a onetime Socialist, in his answer called Lens "a conservative, stuck with his once shiny raiment in the muds of dated ideological disputes." Tyler argued that the modern liberal could not go back to the 1930's even in its opposition to militarism but must adjust "program and language and method to his time, finding new ways for new days."

Sen. Neuberger, too, cheerfuly accepted the charge that the liberal had become "a fellow traveler of the military." He wrote. "I may not be as smart as Lens, but I do know that all of Western Europe might long since have been invaded and conquered if the American military did not possess the equipment which Lens finds so evil."

The Senator said liberals were responsible for much of the improvements in social security and cited as modern-day examples of the liberal: Sens. Douglas, Lehman, Morse, Humphrey and Kefauver; Stevenson and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

CP STATEMENT: The question—to dissent or harmonize—guided the election policies of each group. In a statement issued last week, the CP national committee said it endorsed no candidates; then it added: "Virtually the entire labor movement as well as large sections of the farmers and small business men, are swinging behind the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket" and "wide sections of the Negro people want to maintain a common political front with the labor movement."

The statement said the CP would also stand with "labor, farmers and the Negro people against the forces of entrenched wealth and reaction." It outlined the major issues of peace, civil liberties and economic security and called on voters to press candidates to go beyond their party platforms on these matters. While socialism is not the issue, said the statement, "the fight for peace, freedom and abundance today and always, is the indispensible pre-condition for fundamental social change in our country."

THE BITTER TRUTH": The **New Republic** has strongly endorsed the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket, the **Nation** somewhat less enthusiastically. The **Progressive** in its October issue also came out for Stevenson as "far and away the more hopeful choice for voters who, like us, regard themselves as independents and progressives."

The **American Socialist** in its current issue, says most of its readers will find it impossible to vote for either major party and will therefore either stay home or vote for a "left-wing sect" such as the Socialist Party, Socialist Workers Party or Socialist Labor Party. The magazine says that "it would be wrong to pretend that either is a real solution. The bitter truth is there is no avenue by which socialists can effectively participate in the coming Presidential election, and no trick gimmick changes that.

"Whichever answer our readers adopt, we believe all of us have to dedicate ourselves to rebuilding, from the ground up, a socialist movement which can offer the people genuine alternatives on the electoral scene."

OBITUARY: A party that had been such an alternative in New York was formally buried last week. Peter J. Hawley, state chairman of the American Labor Party, announced that the state committee had dissolved the ALP. Its remaining assets, mainly office furniture, were being liquidated.

Hawley pointed to ALP achievements in pressing the great issues of the last two decades since its founding in 1936. It had successfully forced parts of its program on the major candidates and seen them passed into law. The late Vito Marcantonio had carried the ALP banner into Congress and led the party through its toughest battles.

Democratic Digest

The ALP grew out of the New Deal when liberals and labor required a means of supporting President Franklin D. Roosevelt without the necessity of going down the line for the Democratic Party. It survived a split in 1944 which gave rise to the Liberal Party. In 1946 it had 252,313 enrolled members. In 1948 it polled 500,000 votes for Henry Wallace and was acknowledged as a major factor in the state's political picture. It was frequently wooed by politicians of both major parties. The cold war and internal differences whittled down its strength so that in 1954 it lost its ballot status.

SOUTH AFRICA TODAY—II

The government digs the grave of white supremacy

By Kumar Goshal

(Second of two articles)

TWENTY THOUSAND WOMEN OF ALL RACES GATHER IN PRETORIA
During a 30-minute silence in the hall they give the Afrika salute

LAST AUGUST some 20,000 women, of many races and from all parts of South Africa, defied travel restrictions to gather below Premier Johannes Strijdom's office windows in Pretoria and declare their refusal to carry identification and travel passes. They sang the new Zulu freedom song: "Strijdom uthitta abafazi uthinti imbokotho." (Strijdom, you've tampered with the women; you've knocked against a rock.)

Protests by non-whites so far have been peaceful and, on occasion, successful. A bus boycott, patterned after Montgomery, Ala., in a part of Johannesburg, succeeded last month in gaining certain privileges for non-European riders and employes of the local transport system. But the possibility of a violent upheaval in S. Africa cannot be ruled out.

In a widely-syndicated series of articles cartoonist Scott Long and Minneapolis **Tribune** staff writer Carl Rowan reported a conversation they recently had in Johannesburg with a representative group of Bantu intellectuals, including educators and editors, a minister and a businessman.

VIOLENCE TO COME: "Violence is inevitable ultimately," one said to Long and Rowan. "And what we mean by violence is revolution." When another Bantu leader ruled out the probability of "organized revolution," a third disagreed and said: "Violence has been organized. [It] has been organized by the long list of grievances we have against the white man. Even those of us who have gone over to the whites have grievances. It may take 20 years, but violence is inevitable."

Asked about the government's attributing all troubles to "communism", one Bantu leader said: "Whenever you try to do anything for your own people, even if you're a social worker, you are branded as a Communist. Communism isn't strong here . . . The Communists have all the good arguments. If they'd had strong leaders, they'd have had more effect . . ."

U. S. support inside and outside the UN of imperialist policies and the S. African government has impressed the people. Bantu leaders told Long and Rowan they regarded "America as the enemy of oppressed people everywhere," Russia as "the reverse. It always has been on the side of the underdog." "If there were war today between East and West," they said, "black Africa would side with the East."

MORE TO COME: The complete absurdity of apartheid was revealed—though only by implication—in the Tomlinson Commission's report, published in July.

Set up five years ago by the government to study the economic problems and potential of the areas reserved for Africans, the pro-government commission reported that the black population of S. Africa—now 10 million—would more than double by the year 2000. Even with maximum economic development, the reserve areas would not be able to accommodate even half this population. Although the commission recommended that the government spend $300 million in these areas over the next ten years and more afterwards, it concluded:

"The choice is clear. Either the challenge must be accepted or the inevitable consequences of the integration of the Bantu and European population groups into a common society must be endured."

DIXIE MODEL: Despite warning signals from all sides, the Strijdom government has continued its ruthless policies, trying to cover them with transparent propaganda and denying them abroad. When cornered, its spokesmen have pointed out—as the newspaper **Die Transvaaler** did (9/11)—that the U. S. was also having trouble with the problems of integration. "How can the whites in S. Africa submit," **Die Transvaaler** said, "when the whites in America won't?"

The Strijdom government has publicized a few Africans who have gained prominence as examples of its encouragement of qualified non-whites. Yet last month, when Philemon Nokwe, the first African lawyer to be admitted to the bar in Transvaal Province, tried to rent an office in a Johannesburg law building, the government told him to look in the area reserved for Africans, far from the courts.

OUR ALLY: Besides grimly pursuing its apartheid policy, the government has been uprooting African tribes from their profitable ancestral land to make way for white farmers, and has continued to enforce earlier oppressive laws against non-whites.

The Mamathola tribe in N. Transvaal (10,000 people), for example, has been ordered to move from land deeded to them in perpetuity long ago by President Paul Kruger. Succesful growers of oranges and tangerines, "they must leave their orchards" so that white farmers can take them over and "install native labor in the huts to make big profits . . ." (Washington **Post**, 9/27).

In a letter to the government the tribe complained that the reason for their removal was the fact that "we are competing with neighboring white farmers in the production and marketing of fruits and vegetables." The Mamathola have been ofered land they considered poor and insect-infested.

African convicts are still hired to white farmers, where they work under incredibly brutal conditions: one convict was sent back to Pretoria after 114 days on a farm, "beaten and injured . . . penniless and broken in health. [Another] was forced to pick corn twelve hours a day without water and with only ten minutes off for lunch of porridge and potatoes. He said he was frequently beaten and his wounds became infected" (N. Y. **Times**, 9/6).

Speaking before the Pan-Africa Society of America in New York on July 12, retiring S. African ambassador Dr. J. E. Holloway said: "Your enemies are ceaselessly working to estrange you from a country which holds the same views as you do, which lines itself up on the same side as you do on the basic issue of freedom." Calling it "brain-washing", Dr. Holloway complained that in the U. S., "the press, the radio, the television circuits have unwittingly become the tools of the leftists in their attempt to detach from you a staunch ally in the fight for freedom."

ON THE RECORD: Replying to Dr. Holloway's remarks in a letter to the N. Y. **Times** (8/15), South African author Alan Paton, natl. chairman of the S. African Liberal Party, and Peter Brown, deputy chairman, challenged the ambassador "to say what confidence anyone fighting for freedom can have in an ally which assiduously denies freedom to all its non-white inhabitants and is now in the process of denying certain freedoms to some of its white inhabitants too . . . The oppression of Africans in the Union does not need to be alleged by any one group; it is set out for all to see in our statute books."

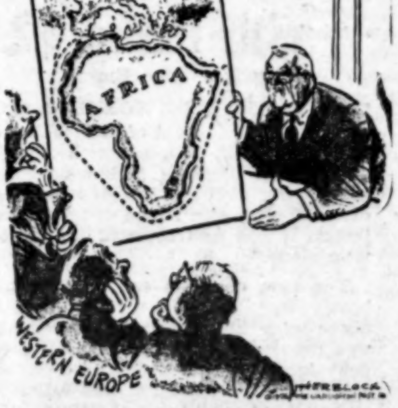
U. S. Secy. of State Dulles soothed Dr. Holloway by saying: "We must not be discouraged when we are continually attacked. After all, a nation such as S. Africa which produces men of character will always solve its own problems." According to the S. African government's New York Information Office bulletin (7/26), Dulles regretted knowing so little about S. Africa because he only goes where there are problems and he has no problems with S. Africa.

GRAVE-DIGGERS: Dulles would feel even closer to Strijdom now, since his proposal to boycott the Suez Canal would enormously increase the significance of the sea route around the Cape of Good Hope.

The S. African government has already concluded three major agreements with Britain, calling for the transfer from Britain to S. Africa of the naval base at Simonstown, near Capetown, key to the Cape route; the establishment of "naval machinery" guarding the Cape route; and a "sea route defense conference" to enlist the cooperation of other Western maritime powers.

The **NYT's** military analyst Hanson Baldwin said (9/18) that, since the defense of the Cape route "obviously starts in N. Africa and the Persian Gulf area . . . S. Africa is starting to organize a task force for use outside its borders."

Despite all its ruthlessness and military preparations, it is becoming widely recognized that the S. African government has doomed itself by its fascist policies, like its predecessors in Germany and Italy. "Apartheid," as the Washington **Post** said (8/27), "is a cancer that a world society of free nations cannot long endure." By its present policies, the London **New Statesman & Nation** said (8/25), Strijdom's Nationalists "appear intent on digging the grave of white supremacy."



Herblock in Washington Post

"IT'S THE LATEST THING"

The situation in Louisville

LOUISVILLE, KY.

We are writing to thank you and your readers for your support in our 2½-year struggle against state sedition laws and segregation in Kentucky. We want at the same time to bring your readers up to date on our situation.

On June 2, 1956, the Kentucky Court of Appeals set aside the 15-year sentence and $5,000 fine imposed on Carl Braden. His conviction was reversed in compliance with the U.S. Supreme Court ruling of April 2 that state sedition laws are inoperative. The lower court in Louisville waited until Aug. 14 to release the $40,000 bond posted for Carl, and this money has now been returned to those providing it.

It was assumed that the reversal would mean automatic dismissal of charges against the six other defendants, since the indictments were identical. However, Judge L. R. Curtis of Criminal Court has refused to dismiss the other indictments because of opposition from the state prosecutor.

Our next appearance in court is still set for Nov. 12. We hope the charges will be dismissed at that time. However, there appears to be an understanding among the states to keep "sedition" prosecutions alive in the hope that Congress will validate state sedition laws. Prosecutions arising under the outlawed sedition statutes are still pending in New Hampshire, Pennsylvania and Ohio, in addition to Kentucky. In the South, these laws remain a threat against those working for an end of racial segregation and discrimination.

Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Wade IV, the Negro couple whose efforts to obtain decent housing led to such bitter reprisals against them, are still in a court battle over possession of the house in the suburbs. Wade—undaunted by all that happened to him as a result of his search for a house—was among the Negroes who took the lead this year in breaking down segregation in Louisville parks.

Another heartening development must be mentioned. On Sept. 10, 1956, both Louisville and Jefferson County desegregated their schools without incident. It was a real step forward for this city on the edge of Mason and Dixon's Line. Many people believe that the smoothness with which this was accomplished was at least partly due to the lessons learned in Louisville as a result of the violence against the Wades. People who were neutral and silent 2½ years ago are now actively supporting integration moves. The rabid segregationists are still active, too. The same ones who helped incite violence against the Wades have formed a White Citizens Council and tried to organize opposition to integrated schools. But this time, encouraged by many influential citizens, the police let it be known that troublemakers would be arrested. There was no trouble.

Louisville has come a long way in two years. If we have contributed to that progress we feel that our efforts were not in vain.

Vernon Bown, Carl Braden, I. O. Ford, Lewis Lubka, Louise Gilbert, LaRue Spiker, Anne Braden.

THE DRIVE FOR "CULTURE" IS EVERYWHERE

Rumania: The thaw is late

By Ursula Wassermann
Special to the Guardian

BUCHAREST, RUMANIA

ONLY SOMEONE who has known Rumania before 1944, can fully appreciate the vast changes which this country has undergone in the past 12 years. The starving Rumanian peasant of Zaharia Stancu's famous novel **Barefoot**, who never saw meat from one end of the year to the other, (except perhaps for a family wedding), who hardly ever tasted bread, who lived on and often died (through pellagra and other deficiency diseases) on polenta or corn-meal, has disappeared from the countryside. And although productivity is still regarded as too low in many branches of agriculture, the peasants, by their own testimony, live better than ever before.

The thumb-imprint, or the awkwardly drawn cross, with which nearly 40% of this country's population affixed their "signature," has also largely disappeared, and the 4,000,000 illiterates counted in 1944 have been reduced to 300,000. In 1944, only half the children of school-age ever attended any sort of school. Today, every child is entitled to—and receives—a minimum of four years schooling, and the full seven-year elementary school is expected to be introduced within the next five years in the villages; it is already compulsory in the urban areas.

WRITERS OUTSPOKEN: The drive for "culture" is universal. Even the largest editions—running into the tens of thousands—of novels and classics, both Rumanian and foreign, are bought up and out of print in a matter of days. Writers, here as in the other socialist countries, are the spoiled children of the new society, and conformity among writers does not appear the necessary conditions for literary "success."

Alexander Jar, one of Rumania's best known authors, was recently expelled from the Communist Party for his attacks on "party-line" writing at this year's writers' congress. But he continues to work and publish successfully, according to Zaharia Stancu. Nor did he lose his membership in the Writers' Union. Jar himself was not available; he was at a mountain resort. For the same reason, so I was told, it was impossible to arrange a meeting with Ana Pauker—now working at the State Publishing House.

But if the writers seem to be willing to express criticism more openly today—and several who supported Jar lost standing neither with the Party nor their own organization—the same seems hardly true of the journalists. It is, of course, impossible to draw firm conclusions after only three weeks, and it would be dangerous to generalize, but such discussions as I had were unsatisfactory both from the point of view of information and frankness. I may have been particularly conscious of this since I had just come from Poland where, for more than six months, I had found journalists only too eager to talk freely and frankly at all times.

STALIN'S STATUE: Possibly my discussions here proved an interesting negative at that if one notes a parallel: just as the parade on Rumania's national liberation day—Aug. 23—was dominated by Stalin's huge statue, so the press (and much else here) is still somewhat frozen and the thaw is only just beginning.

SHEPHERDS AT A BOOKSTALL IN RUMANIA
Books are out of print in a few days

On my arrival I asked what measures had been taken regarding democratization and rehabilitation of persons unjustly imprisoned. I was told officially that no such measures had been taken since "there had been no need" for them: Rumania had always been democratic. In time, I learned that many persons had in recent years been released from prison and that many had been materially compensated as well. Those released included former opposition deputies and most—if not all—of the imprisoned Zionist leaders. I came across several such cases personally, but official confirmation as to the numbers involved was impossible to obtain or verify. When I raised the point again later, the releases were admitted, of course, confirming the imprisonments. As for executions, I did not meet anyone who could cite a single case.

So long as the official attitude persists that nothing was ever wrong, it will be difficult to give publicity to the present favorable turn of events. Here the daily press (I did not study the periodicals) could play a most vital part; but instead it presents a picture of dull uniformity. It is almost entirely given over to official statements, speeches and production reports, with foreign news coverage confined to half a page out of four or six pages of each issue. Moreover, the foreign news coverage is poor: the only news I found of the London conference on the Suez Canal was the verbatim text of several speeches favorable to Egypt, but no account of the proceedings of the conference as such.

A DIFFICULT SHIFT: When I raised this matter with some newspaper colleagues, I met with a cool reception. They believed themselves and their public quite well informed. So long as the working newsmen themselves are not aware of the deficiencies of the papers they produce, it will be hard to change the face of Rumania's press.

Nor does the public have any standard of comparison, since no foreign newspapers were on public sale here as they are in large numbers in Poland. The only foreign paper I found in three weeks was a copy of **Humanitè** in a rest house on the Black Sea. Yet the people are avidly looking for foreign news, and especially news from the West. English, French and Italian films always play to SRO houses, jazz is played in all restaurants and the foreign radio eagerly listened to.

WEST IS "ACCESSIBLE": This interest in the West does not necessarily indicate any opposition to the regime—on the contrary, the country's youth, most eager for Western contacts, has fared well in People's Rumania and is loyal to it. But this is very much a Latin people, where French cultural influence was strong before, and it is anxious to re-establish the ties. Actually, the Government itself has done much to foster this interest in the West; mass publication and circulation of translations of Western books—classics, novels and poetry—has made the West "accessible" to the whole population for the first time. The people, in effect, are ahead of their government, and certainly ahead of their press.

The official drive for "culture"—from elementary schools to folk dances, from workers' libraries in factories to open air cinema performances—can only be welcomed, although too often "culture" seems a synonym for entertainment. Yet among the people of this lovely country—an intelligent and kind and amiable people—there seems to be a realization of the true universality of all culture. And in People's Rumania it is the people, one feels, who will shape the future.

UE WON'T GIVE UP PRINCIPLES

Mine union proves it can 'live alone' with record $2.40 a day pay boost

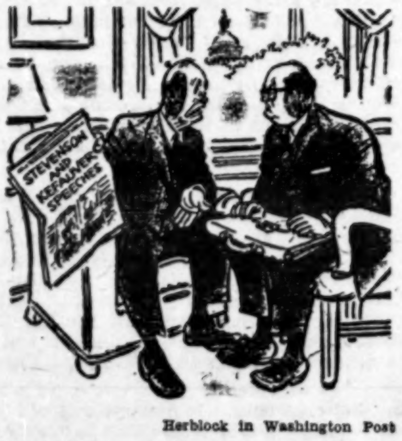
By Lawrence Emery

THE UNITED MINE WORKERS, which scorns any thought of affiliation with the merged AFL-CIO, last week celebrated a record-breaking $2.40-a-day wage increase for 200,000 soft coal miners and declared that as an independent organization it has demonstrated that it can "live alone."

The new one-year agreement, which boosts bituminous coal miners' wages far above those in any other basic industry, was negotiated secretly by UMW president John L. Lewis and his top lieutenant, Thomas Kennedy, a week before the union's 42nd constitutional convention in Cincinnati. The increase, largest single boost ever won by the UMW in its 66-year history, was negotiated peaceably and was a good ten cents more an hour than was won by the steel workers union after a five-week strike this summer.

Although there was some criticism from the convention floor that the new agreement does not reduce hours of work, it was ratified by the 3,000 delegates representing a total membership of 400,000. The pact provides for an immediate increase of $1.20 a day and an additional increase of 80c a day next April 1. Increased vacation, holiday and overtime pay bring the total gain to a 30c-an-hour package.

SOME PLAIN LANGUAGE: In his opening report, Lewis predicted a bright future for the once-sick coal industry and forecast that national coal consumption will double in the next 20 years.



Herblock in Washington Post

"They talk as if I were responsible for my administration."

The 76-year-old leader, who has never complied with the Taft-Hartley law, had some harsh words for other unions for their failure to fight harder for its repeal and said that some labor leaders have compromised by seeking "political favors."

Lewis was caustic about the Eisenhower Administration and said that the President himself is "responsible directly for the deeds, misdeeds and lack of deeds in his Republican administration" and that his domestic policy "was and had to be controlled by and for Big Business." But he had no kind words for Adlai Stevenson either. The union this year has contented itself with endorsing Congressional candidates of both parties from coal mining states who have supported measures deemed important to miners.

UE CONVENTION: Another independent union, the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, less powerful and less successful than the UMW in living alone, also met in convention recently and voted to remain independent rather than sacrifice its militant principles as the price for unification with some other organization. The union, which at the height of its power claimed 600,000 members, now has only a fraction of that number. Workers in the industry are now scattered among the UE and five other major unions and some smaller ones, with many today unorganized.

In the last year some four districts of the UE, with an estimated total of 50,000 members, have gone into AFL-CIO unions claiming jurisdiction in the industry. UE top leaders were bitter at these defections and declared that this was not the road to labor unity. Secy-Treas. Julius Emspak said: "Is there unity in the AFL-CIO? The answer is NO." Then he spelled it out: "You have a situation today where the Auto Union does one thing, the Steel Union fights against what the Intl. Union of Electrical Workers does . . . the IUE sells out . . . the Intl. Assn. of Machinists grabs and runs . . . the Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers plays a role primarily of a company union operation for Westinghouse . . . Is this unity in our industry?"

3-POINT PROGRAM: UE leaders reported that negotiations in the last year with other unions in the field had failed and recommended a three-step program for unification in the industry, which was adopted:

"1. Grant the UE a charter as an affiliate of the AFL-CIO, as an autonomous international union.

"2. The IAM, the IBEW, the UAW, the IUE and the UE would then set up a committee charged with the following duties: (a) To assure cooperation in collective bargaining with companies where two or more of these unions have contracts, and (b) To assure cooperation in the organization of the unorganized in our industry without jurisdictional conflict.

"3. Within the framework of the AFL-CIO constitution, establish a committee consisting of representatives of the IUE, IAM, IBEW, UAW, and UE to perfect a plan for the reunification of the workers in our industry."

QUESTION OF INTEGRITY: Louis Goldblatt, secy.-treas. of the independent West Coast Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union headed by Harry Bridges, praised the UE as a union that "in this era of compromise and convenience manages to stand fast by the integrity of its founding principles." He decried "paper unity which in most cases means very little" and said that on basic issues—organizing the unorganized, positive action against discrimination and segregation, democracy and autonomy of its members—the merged AFL-CIO has to date accomplished nothing.

He declared that the benefits of a merged labor movement "still remain only potentialities and unless there are organizations like yours which continue to act as a spur to American labor as a whole, the possibility of those potentialities of genuine unity developing is not helped but they are set back."

Citing his own union's record of independence against all attacks, he said: "We have survived; you are going to survive."

Campaign apathy

(Continued from Page 1)

When Stevenson charged GOP skulduggery in killing federal aid to schools, Eisenhower pointed to the Democratic votes that helped do the job.

One reason for the prevailing lack of spectator excitement was given by columnist Walter Lippman last week. He said that "while there are differences between the two parties, they are not very deep or essential in the field of their beliefs and their convictions."

Edgar Kemmler in the **Nation** (9/29) wrote: "The Democratic candidates are somewhat in a quandary. They insist that, if elected, they would prove more loyal to Ike (if elected) than their Old Guard opponents. That may be true, but obviously Eisenhower doesn't want to be 'rescued' by Democrats. So real issues evaporate in what amounts to a tussle for the coat-tails of the President—a fact which may in large measure account for the apathy of this election."

THE PULSE-TAKERS: Most observers credited the Democrats with making gains though Eisenhower continued to hold the lead. Samuel Lubell, an ordinarily reliable pulse taker writing for the Scripps-Howard press from the Midwest, found the President's health, Nixon and falling farm prices Eisenhower's worst liabilities. His health and Nixon were just about offset, however, by objections to Stevenson personally and because of his divorce.

Two fears governed Midwest thinking: war and depression. Farmers who were not too badly off feared war more and tended to vote for the Republican Party, as the peace party. Those hit by the farm slump tended to back the Democratic Party as the anti-depression party. The price of hogs and the Suez crisis, whichever is worse, might well determine the way the Midwest goes, according to present on-the-spot observers.

Lubell found in the cities that the Democrats were holding their own or gaining back some of their 1952 losses. Even in Negro wards the shift from the Democrats on civil rights matters was not as marked as expected; many Negroes reportedly were clinging to the Democrats for economic reasons and because of smoothly functioning party machinery in Negro neighborhoods.

THE LABOR VOTE: Though official labor leadership was speaking out strongly for Stevenson and Kefauver and in Michigan at least, union men were being organized as doorbell ringers, the latest Gallup poll gave Eisenhower more support among union and non-union workers than he had in 1952. Among union members the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket polled 43%, a gain of 4 percentage points over 1952. Among all manual workers, union and non-union, Eisenhower had 49% only two points behind Stevenson. In 1952 Eisenhower gathered 45% of the manual worker vote.

In May, before Nixon was definitely named as Eisenhower's running mate, the President had 56% of the union members polled, the highest union vote for a Republican recorded by the Gallup Poll in its 21 years of opinion sampling.

CONGRESSIONAL CONTESTS: If the national campaigns failed to raise the general temperature, Congressional races kicked up local fevers in areas where real issues or strong personalities made a choice possible.

The Senate, now Democratic by two votes, can change hands by a slight shift in a few states. Though another Democratic Senate would perpetuate the Dixiecrats in key positions, a Republican victory would not change the picture greatly. William S. White in the N. Y. **Times** (9/2) wrote of the Senate contest:

"What is now at stake, indeed, is not in a partisan sense a truly vital thing. It is merely the issue as to which party is to control a high legislative instrumentality that in any case will follow the 'middle' course that has since January, 1953, marked a current phase of political history."

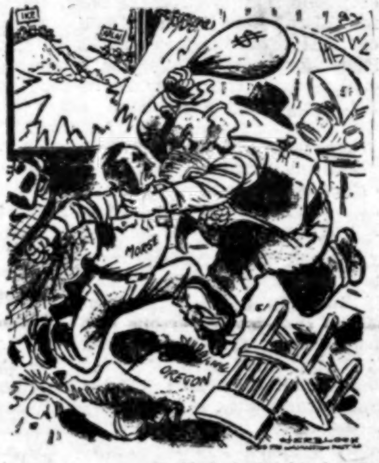
KUCHEL vs. RICHARDS: California and Oregon were staging the most significant Senate battles. There were real issues at stake and a choice between candidates. Sen. Thomas Kuchel of California had rallied to his corner both wings of the Republicans. Sen. Knowland of the China Lobby, Chief Justice Earl Warren of the GOP's liberal side, the President and the Vice President were all loudly backing him. Though he has voted for the Bricker Amendment and generally with the far right opposition to Eisenhower's "moderation", he has been officially dubbed member of Ike's "team."

Opposing him is State Sen. Richard Richards, 39, tall and handsome, who has unashamedly assaulted his opponent from the left.

Richards was one of the few heroes of the Democratic Convention. He fought the watery compromise on civil rights with a passionate appeal to the delegates: "We can strangle to death in our own rationalization." He has spoken out against the Smith Act prosecutions and in 1947 warned against the Truman policies of aid to Greece and Turkey.

Richards, backed by the young Democrats of the California Democratic Council, polled over a million votes in the primary. The latest sampling of the California Poll, a private opinion survey, showed Kuchel slightly ahead with 40%, Richards, 38%, and 22% undecided.

MORSE vs. McKAY: In Oregon Democratic Sen. Wayne Morse who was a liberal, with limitations, even as a Republican is battling against Douglas McKay who left his post as Eisenhower's Secy. of the Interior to become the GOP candidate. Morse, who has been identified with the public power fight, has played that cause down since Oregon's power shortage is not yet at the critical stage. He has instead hit the Eisenhower-McKay policies on agriculture and the give-away of natural resources.



Herblock in Washington Post

MEANWHILE, BACK AT THE RANCH—

Morse has also blamed "this banker's administration" for the slump in Oregon's lumber industry in which unemployment is rising. (There are 4,300 fewer lumbermen at work this year than last year.) He has charged that the high interest rates pressed by the Treasury Dept. have slowed home building drastically, reducing this year's "starts" on homes by 21%. Price cut-backs in the plywood industry have Oregon concerned about still further lay-offs. Some 31% of the state's unemployment benefits now go to lumber and construction workers.

McKAY'S PROBLEM: Responding to Morse's attack on the issues, McKay has complained that he is at the mercy of a "left-wing agitator." Republicans freely quote past Democratic attacks on Morse, particularly those by Sen. Neuberger and call Morse "President Eisenhower's worst enemy."

Last week the GOP Portland **Oregonian** front-paged a story pinning on Morse the guilt of precipitating the Suez crisis. It was based on the charge by Morse's fellow Democrat Sen. Russell B. Long (La.) who told a newsman:

"I think that the administration canceled its offer to Egypt [to help build the Aswan Dam] because it could just hear Morse going up and down Oregon declaring that this government wouldn't help build Hell's Canyon Dam but it would put millions into a dam in Egypt."

Socialist parties off the ballot in N. Y.

THE Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Workers Party, the only groups offering alternatives to the major party candidates, were ruled off the ballot in New York State last week. State law requires that parties which do not poll 50,000 votes can get on the ballot only by filing petitions bearing 12,000 signatures, including at least 50 from each county in the state.

Both parties filed more than the requisite number but some signatures were challenged in upstate and Long Island counties. The office of Secretary of State Carmine DeSapio, Tammany leader, upheld the challenges.

Socialist Workers Party campaign manager Arthur Sharon threatened to sue, charging a Democratic Party maneuver to pick up those independents who had formerly voted American Labor Party and this year might have voted for another minority party in protest against the Democrats' stand on segregation and other issues.

The Suez story

(Continued from Page 1)

and shipping concerns were considering a $1,500,000,000 investment in widening, deepening and otherwise improving the canal if Egypt would grant to a consortium set up by these concerns such concessions as the right to collect tolls. U.S. oil interests, the London **New Statesman & Nation** said (10/6), see the Suez crisis "as following the Iranian pattern, where nationalization first squeezed out the British; where international pressure forced the Iranians to accept negotiation [which] gave U.S. oil interests a stake in the consortium equal to that allotted to the British . . . and transferred part of the traditional British interest to the U. S."

Arriving in New York to discuss prospects for increased oil traffic through the canal and contracts for U.S. supervision of canal improvements, Egyptian Suez Canal Authority director Dr. Helmy Badawi said he was "staggered" by the scope of the consortium plan. He denied that Egypt would allow any consortium the right to collect tolls; but other sources were reported believing that Nasser would be prepared to allocate a portion of the tolls to guarantee payment to firms undertaking canal improvement.

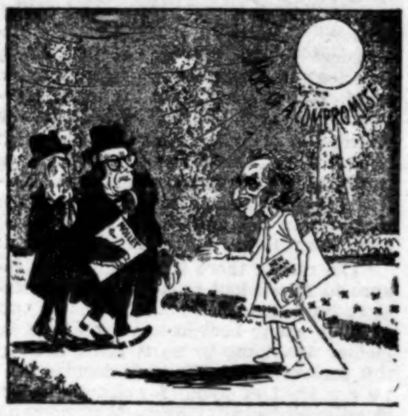
MENON AT WORK: There were reports also last week of Egyptian President Nasser's willingness to make greater concessions. India's roving ambassador Krishna Menon was reported bringing to the UN via London new proposals from Nasser, worked out during his second visit to Cairo last week. While categorically rejecting international control of the canal, Nasser was said to be willing to accept some form of international supervision of canal traffic, maintenance and tolls, with the UN as arbiter of disputes.

Just before the Oct. 5 Security Council meeting, Dulles held hasty consultations with the British, French, Belgian and Soviet Foreign Ministers, and with Egyptian Foreign Minister Dr. Mahmoud Fawzi. As a result, all speeches were considerably toned down.

With French Foreign Minister Christian Pineau in the chair—following the custom of rotating the chairmanship among the members—the Security Council at the beginning invited Fawzi to take his seat at the Council table and agreed to a Yugoslav proposal to postpone a decision on Israeli and other Arab participation in the discussion until a later time.

THE WEST'S CASE: British Foreign Minister Lloyd and Pineau charged Egypt with "unilateral action" in nationalizing the Suez Canal Co.; Lloyd accepted nationalization "for better or worse," while Pineau called it completely illegal. Both refrained from demanding UN censure of Egypt's action; they presented a resolution asking the Security Council to recommend that Egypt negotiate on the basis of the proposal for international control of the canal carried to Cairo by the Menzies mission, meanwhile cooperating with the newly formed Suez Canal Users' Assn. (SCUA). Lloyd also proposed closed Security Council meetings after the opening speeches.

Conceived by Dulles as a plan for a showdown with Premier Nasser, SCUA, in the meantime, has been considerably watered down. Its members adjourned a meeting Oct. 5 in London "without deciding who should adminster the projected association, where it should have its headquarters or the scope of its operations or its budget" (N. Y. **Herald Tribune,** 10/6.)



Vicky in Daily Mirror, London

"Gentlemen, why not change into something suitable for INDIAN summer?"

Dulles tried to soothe ruffled Anglo-French feelings by saying that the U.S. would vote for the British-French resolution. He endorsed Lloyd's suggestion for closed meetings, said the U.S. would speak at length later.

EGYPT'S CASE: On Oct. 8 Dr. Fawzi presented Egypt's case. He accused Britain and France of endangering international peace and security by concentrating military forces near Suez. He said that while canal traffic has been moving smoothly under Egyptian control, Britain and France and the Suez Canal Co. had tried to disrupt traffic by recalling pilots and technicians. Fawzi opposed the Anglo-French resolution as only "a restatement" of the Menzies proposals already rejected by Egypt, asked the Council to set up "a negotiating body of reasonable size" with such "clear objectives" as discussing means to guarantee navigation of ships of all nations, canal maintenance, proper toll rates.

Shepilov supported Egypt's right to nationalize the canal company, opposed the Anglo-French resolution as "no just way to solve the Suez problem on the basis of equality with Egypt." He accused Britain and France of bringing the issue to the UN not for a solution but as a procedural gesture to appease public opinion at home.

SHEPILOV'S PLAN: Noting that Egypt has repeatedly agreed to abide by the 1888 Convention guaranteeing passage of ships of all nations, Shepilov proposed setting up "an authoritative committee of the Security Council" to negotiate freedom of navigation through the canal "in peace and war," and to regulate toll rates and canal maintenance. He said the committee might be made up of six or eight nations, including the U.S., U.S.S.R., Britain, France, Egypt, India and, perhaps, Yugoslavia, Iran or Indonesia or Sweden.

The purpose of the committee would be to organize a Suez Canal advisory board, of which Egypt will be a member, and to draw up a new convention more in tune with the times. The committee might report back to the UN or call a comprehensive Suez Canal users' convention to ratify its decisions. Any dispute would be referred to the UN. In effect, Shepilov's proposal was a combination of those made in the past by India, Egypt and the Soviet Union.

At GUARDIAN press time, the Suez Canal issue seemed headed for closed door Security Council discussion and behind-the-scenes negotiations among the various foreign ministers.

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HOW NOT TO BE FOOLED AGAIN

The Negro voter confronts a dilemma at the polls

By Eugene Gordon

THE SUPREME COURT'S ban on jimcrow public schools—and the flareups of violence against it—were lightning flashes revealing the weary stretch of Freedom Road still to be plodded by America's Negroes toward the Promised Land. How to reach it is the main question. Dr. Theodore R.M. Howard is among Negroes who preach that the ripe fruit of the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation can be grasped only by means of the ballot. His description one year ago of the situation in his state dramatized it for other Deep South communities. He said:

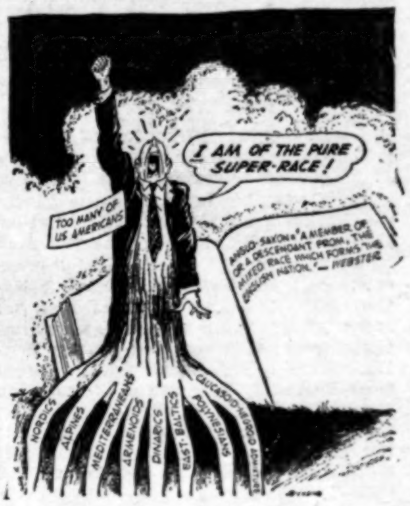
"The reason there is so much disturbance in Mississippi today is that we Negroes have decided we don't want to wait until we get to heaven to walk where we please. We want to do it right here in this present world. We have decided that we are tired of dying for something on Heartbreak Ridge in Korea that we can't vote for in Belzoni, Miss. . . . It is a shame on our American democracy that in Mississippi, where we have 1,000,000 Negro citizens, we have fewer than 25,000 qualified voters."

"The unrestricted ballot," he said, was among "four things we must have . . . to be prepared for an integrated society." He listed the other three as "equality of education," fair employment "at such wages we can keep some of them in our savings," and the right to retain "our identity as a people."

DILEMMA: As Dr. Howard at that time reflected mass Negro opinion, a year later he reflected considerable Negro-voter confusion. Having been a registered Democrat in Mound Bayou, Miss., and having had to remove his family from the danger of physical attack by the White Citizens Councils to Chicago, he publicly shifted to the Republican Party. Dr. Howard is a man of integrity and influence, so his act could sway many voters toward the GOP.

Thus, even as the politically conscious, articulate Negro voter pledges never to be fooled again—as he has been for 90-odd years—he continues to be faced with the dilemma whether to cast his ballot for the Democrats or the Republicans—whether, in other words, to risk being fooled again in 1956. For the most part he is not prepared to vote for a minor party candidate. If he does not vote he throws away the right which Negroes in Mississippi are dying to possess.

As if this dilemma were some evil spirit to be exorcised, approximately 6,000,000 qualified Negro electors are being widely advised. Basically all the advice comes to this: Vote!


I AM OF THE PURE SUPER-RACE!
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Pardon me, but your roots are showing!

DEMOCRATIC ADVICE: An observer predicts in the California **Eagle** that "75% [of the Negroes] will vote Democratic," because (1) the Eisenhower administration "has said and done nothing to implement or advance the intent of Supreme Court anti-segregation decisions"; (2) the relatively slight progress toward school integration "has been made by Democratic administrations" (as those of Kentucky and Tennessee, where the governors ordered troops to prevent violence), while least has been made under "Dixiecrat or Eisenhower-Democrat" state administrations; (3) a Southern white Democrat "who believes in equal justice and equal opportunities" for Negroes—for instance, a Kefauver—is less "opportunist" than a Republican like, say, a Nixon.

The unnamed president of a Deep South college told the Pittsburgh **Courier** that for the Negro to become politically effective in the South he must be "within the fold of the Democratic Party." And it is "a well-known fact," the San Francisco **Sun-Reporter's** Thomas Fleming wrote, "that the legislators found in the front rank of those who fight for human rights are for the most part members of the Democratic Party; those who oppose such potential laws are members of the Republican Party."

THE FILIBUSTER: Both parties "are quick to reinterpret constitutional law and seek every hairline legal dodge to avoid law enforcement when the Negro's rights are at stake in the South," said the Arkansas **State Press,** but "the Democratic platform for 1956 has a section calling for majority rule in Congress, and if this part of the platform is ever carried out, Senate Rule 22 [requiring a 2/3 vote to stop a filibuster] would be ended; but the Republican platform is silent on this issue."

Afro-American correspondent John McCray, chairman of the S. Carolina Progressive Democratic Party, said recently: "In spite of its Eastland, Talmadge and Byrnes, the Democratic Party is best for us in the South. Just about everything in civil rights our race has today in the South has come under the initiative of the Democratic Party, in spite of its Eastlands and others. The Republicans have talked sweetly to our people . . . and at the same time financed and encouraged the South's worst elements [whom] Negro and white liberal Southerners have battled to remove from power."

REPUBLICAN ADVICE: The Republicans' Negro director of minorities, Val Washington, disputed a Gallup poll showing that there has been no shift from Democrats to Republicans since 1952:

"Nearly every political writer who has surveyed the attitudes of colored voters has reported a shift to the Republican Party . . . That a considerable number of colored voters, who voted Democrat in 1952, will vote Republican in 1956, is evidenced by the fact that in various primary elections throughout the country last spring they asked for Republican ballots."

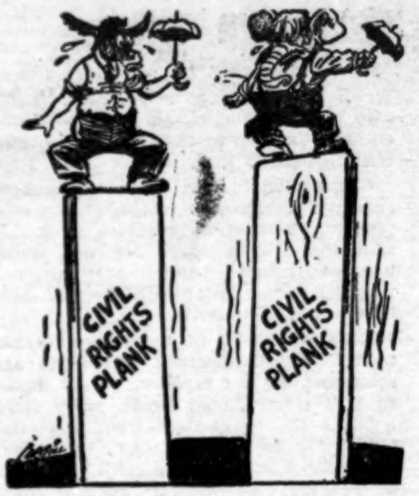
N.Y. **Amsterdam News** managing editor James L. Hicks recently announced his appointment as an assistant director of public relations for the Natl. Citizens for Eisenhower-Nixon and his support of Eisenhower because, Hicks said, the Republicans had a "better program of civil rights." The paper stated its reason for supporting Republican State Atty. Gen. Javits against Democratic Mayor Wagner for U.S. Senator:

"The overriding factor behind our choice of him is the fact that the election of a Republican to this post will help the Republicans gain control of the Senate and strip Sen. Eastland of his power as head of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Sen. Eastland is head of the all-important Judiciary Committee because Negroes helped elect more Democrats to the Senate than Republicans."

DO IT YOURSELF: City Councilman Earl Brown took note in his **Amsterdam News** column (9/22) of "foolish talk" about boycotting both parties at the polls because of their "weak and confused" stands on civil rights. A voter could do nothing worse, Brown wrote, for such "benighted inaction would play directly into the hands of anti-Negro shouters and bigots" like Eastland and Georgia's new Sen. Talmadge.

United Negro College Fund exec. director William J. Trent Jr. said that the Negro voter is in no party's pocket today and that "anything is likely to happen between now and election."

Because Congress is decisive in the matter of actual legislation—it has not passed one civil rights law since Emancipation—Negro voters are being urged to pay more attention to candidates for the House and Senate than to the Presidency.



Pittsburgh Courier

"In Dixie land, I'll take my stand."

"THREE-PARTY SYSTEM": If it is "within our hands to determine whether there will be a Democratic or Republican Congress," as an NAACP political strategist told the annual convention last summer, then the Negro voter may heed the suggestion by the California **Eagle** "to take the lead in demanding that the Democrats acknowledge the reality of the three party system that now obtains in Congress [and] make it plain that his loyalty is given to the Democratic Party and not to the Southern party."

NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins told a Chicago audience that though Sen. Eastland's name "is not on our ballots up here" and "we did not make him chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee where he has life and death power over civil rights bills and over the appointment of Federal judges and U.S. attorneys," Northerners have something to say about the party that made Eastland chairman of a committee "which can choke us," whether we live North or South or be Negro or white.

When all the advice was in, it was still apparent that the Negro voter would carry his dilemma into the voting booth with him and—until there was a real alternative that would speed the pace on Freedom Road—the dilemma would remain.

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NEW UNITARIAN FORUM SERIES opens Friday, Oct. 19, 8 p.m., at First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8 St. Three views on **"HOW CAN I VOTE TO GET WHAT I WANT IN NOVEMBER?"** Speakers: Robert W. Kenny, former Attorney-General of California; Almena Lomax, editor Los Angeles Tribune; and John Leo Harris, former Vice-Chairman of L.A. County Republican Committee. Audience participation. Admission 75 cents.

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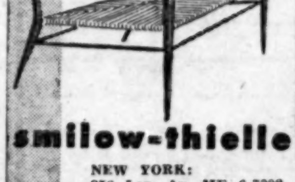

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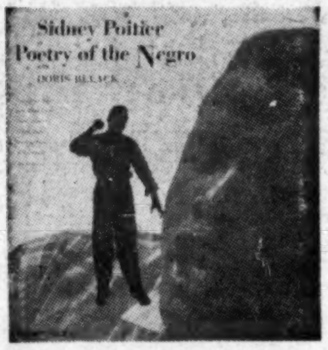

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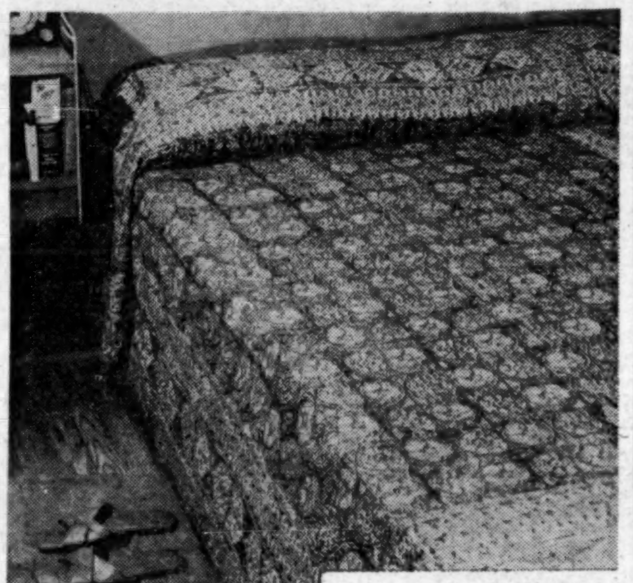

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Letters on Election

Following is a representative selection of mail from GUARDIAN readers commenting on the GUARDIAN's statement on the 1956 Presidential election (9/24), on the statements by C. B. Baldwin (9/17) and Vincent Hallinan (9/24) and on the suggestion for the formation of a united socialist association. The GUARDIAN will print as many such letters as possible until election time.

Who believes them?

NEW YORK, N.Y.

As the '56 election campaign progresses, the notion of socialists supporting Democratic candidates becomes more and more ludicrous. Even without considerating the past atrocities of the Democratic Party — instituting the loyalty checks and witch-hunts, planting the seeds for McCarthyism, plunging our country into the Korean War, initiating the Cold War, etc.—the Democratic Party turns today a deaf ear to a repressed and harrassed trade union movement and to the plight of the Negro people.

Once before the Democrats promised repeal of Taft-Hartley, and then—in control of Congress—reneged on this proposal! Who shall believe them now? A large segment of the Democratic Party (the Dixiecrat racists) stand like a stone wall before the militant Southern Negroes who are battling for their rightful civil liberties!

Before I would support spokesmen of the capitalist class and enemies of the working-people, I would lend my voice to the chorus of Hallinan and McAvoy in support of the Socialist Workers Party.

Cynthia Speare

Six delicious plans

UPLAND, CALIF.

Stevenson's start on his "New America" plans causes me to look forward with much interest to the remainder of his six such plans. Giving our people such clearly drawn-up, documented plans beats the generalities now filling the atmosphere. And most of us hope that one of those New America plans spells PEACE.

Franklin Baxter

Salute to us

DETROIT, MICH.

I am writing to express my enthusiastic approval for the stand taken by Vincent Hallinan. The need of the hour in the U.S. today is for the left to unite on the basis of an aggressive defense of democratic left-wing socialism directed toward the problems of the American people. I would also like to give the GUARDIAN a well-deserved salute for the great job it is doing in providing a forum for all left-wing, liberal and independent groups and individuals in America.

C. W. Phillips

For S & K

SAN FERNANDO, CALIF.

Good for C.B. Baldwin's statement. For some time I've been considering opinions expressed by those advocating socialism. To ignore the election completely or to vote for an unknown socialist candidate, who at best would receive very few votes, would hardly be effective as a protest against the two major parties. That would be playing right into the hands of Nixon, Eisenhower, Dulles, etc. Why not support the Democratic leaders this time at least to register protest against the other? By performance during many years, Kefauver has shown much good quality by his votes in the Senate and by exposing corruption. Under the present circumstances Stevenson will no doubt work closely with Kefauver.

Reader.

Can't accept

BRONX, N.Y.

I cannot accept C. B. Baldwin's idea that we should vote for Stevenson, at the same time that he supports the menacing foreign policy outlined in the Democratic platform.

Neither can I accept the idea that Nixon would be the right man to step into Eisenhower's shoes.

At this perilous time in world affairs, we need courage above everything else in our would-be leaders. Kefauver seems to be the only candidate who has displayed the courage to part company with "selfish interests" and work for the good of the overwhelming majority. Unfortunately, he has not been chosen as head man. Stevenson's is the educated kind of intellect which compromises too much with "things as they are," instead of speaking out courageously for "things as they should be."

Baldwin is too optimistic about the better way of life a Democratic administration could bring us.

Miriam Stern

Stassen's Stunt

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

No one not bent on political suicide would have dared undertake a "Dump Nixon" campaign, as staged and managed by Stassen, without consent or even approval and direct instigation of Eisenhower himself—to create public sympathy for Nixon.

As to Stassen—he is no fool. That shrewd politician, not having much at stake anyway, took a long-shot chance on 1960: if the Republicans lose this year, as they easily might, he is the logical Presidential, or at least Vice-Presidential, choice four years from now.

Name Withheld.

Anti-nincompoopery

MONTROSE, COLO.

I heartily agree with Vincent Hallinan to stick to our colors and not to lose our identity as social rebels by fusing with either of the parties who openly wage war upon our fundamental principles.

If the turtle had fraternized with the hare, cut up capers with him, instead of plodding along the race track, he would not have won the race. Neither can socialists expect to win by voting for the lesser evil. Besides, the Democratic Party is not lesser of two evils. It is the warmongering party, its record proves.

Let us observe Carl Sandburg's Eleventh Commandment, "Thou shalt not commit nincompoopery."

Pearl Cline

Anti-Dobbs

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

One notes with a shudder of admiration that Vince Hallinan, the venerable fire-eater, still has a cast-iron stomach. He is about to swallow Farrell Dobbs, who embraces the doctrine that international socialism can best be advanced by "eliminating" the leaders of the first state which tried to build socialism.

And why not Eric Haas (Socialist Labor Party), or the Socialist Party candidate with the highly improbable name of Darlington Hoopes? Will the aggregate vote cast for all candidates who tattoo the word socialism on their chests provide any substitute for, or addition to, the intelligent re-evaluation of socialist theory, practice, and advocacy which is an essential precondition of regrouping the forces of the American Left?

Richard Lynden

An independent forum

BUFFALO, N. Y.

I endorse the idea of the GUARDIAN providing a forum for all socialist and independent candidates who might deserve progressive support in the coming election.

W. P.